THE TRAVELS OF THE ABBÉ CARRÉ IN INDIA AND THE NEAR EAST

1672 TO 1674

FAWCETT

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THE ABBÉ CARRÉ
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De la Compagnie Dolle Dorisit [illegible] a mettre a la Voille pour faire Voyle trois mois
3. mois et Demy apres mois esté 18. mois a venir de France Dey; nayant pas [illegible]
faire aucunne chose de nous la Voille avec Direction dun an mois Lescu avec Un Supplement de 40 m
Livres pour Votre Grandeur dont Je charge le S.r Beaumont Capitaine de dit navire qui
partit le 4.me du Courant; ou Je faisois Cognoistre a Votre Grandeur que le S.r Chevreuil
Nouveau Roy Dignité de vice n'a fait aucunne diligence pour chercher les moyens de faire venir a
Monsieur le Vicecoy la Somme de Douzeens mille Livres dont il se charge Cequi auroit rendu
Les affaires de Sa Majesté au Pays de trente chefs a S.t Thomé; Depuis que le nouveau de la
Compagnie est party Duy Capitaine au dit S.r Chevreuil la nouvelle du mesme S. Vicecoy
Mort Dorigny Cequi a encore Eté par Les lettres quil escrivit a la Compagnie et Entre autres
Directeur Bruyon. Cependant le Roy que le dit S.r Chevreuil ait tout Pouvoir comme Absolu
qui ne demande aucun Dlay: Les Chefs de la Compagnie luy ont Capitulerent pour faire la
Compagnie de Sete irresolutions et retardements, mesme luy ont trouvé les moyens d'Echanger la
dite Somme Roy pour la prendre a Masulipatan avec Advantage et sans aucun risque; ayant
et Voyant Il travailler a Demis le dit argent aux marchands qui se sont prie a Surratte; mais
Cequi me Chagrinne le plus est de voir que le dit S.r Chevreuil ne peut Descendre a interrompre
le Voyage de S.t Thomé dont 42 ne peut se dispenser pour aller pour le Les lettres Ordonnances
moins les Ordonnances de Monsieur le Vicecoy Suyvant Les ordres quil mes fait voir; de Sorte
quil a Receu Monseigneur que si Une telle affaire manoit de Confié de nouveau pour
pas Un moment de temps et Depuis quil est arrivé a Surratte Jebois de retour dans S.t Thomé
Le plus Monseigneur Je fus fort Surpris Il y a 8. Voyes Mons chez le Roy pour
Arracher quil me fit voir Un parques de la majesté accusé par la Voye de Perse Cepuis
3. mois on ne Echuyoit point a Monsieur Le Vicecoy, Sorte Combre quil ne Voulut pas le
croyre par des patentes du Roy acoutes de la grace qui etoit toujours pour retourner
Contre S.t Thomé: Depuis mon Embarquer dans Une Voyes pour parle de la Jouve mes diligences
pour Votre pour me rendre auprès de Votre grandeur et qui Vous pour donner Un Compte
exact et circonstancié generalement de tout cequi est passé en Ces pays tousjours les affaires
de Sa majesté et celles de la Compagnie; Jadresse Une Copie de cette lettre Roy a
Monsieur Bernier par la mesme Voye de Ces navires Anglois mais par Une autre
par Lorme afin que Lune ou Lautre passe arriver en Seurete. [illegible] plaist la
Sainte Monseigneur de Vous Souvenir dune personne qui n'a [illegible] en Vous que de
se Vouloir Jamais que pour Vous Cognoistre [illegible]

[illegible] Janvier 1674.

Votre Tres humble et Tres obeissant Sujet
E Barthelemy Carré prestre Missionaire

END OF CARRÉ'S AUTOGRAPH LETTER TO COLBERT

Reduced from the original in Paris

Translated from the manuscript journal of
his travels in the India Office by
LADY FAWCETT
and edited by
SIR CHARLES FAWCETT
with the assistance of
SIR RICHARD BURN

THE TRAVELS OF
THE ABBÉ CARRÉ
IN INDIA AND THE NEAR EAST
1672 TO 1674

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOLUME TWO
From Bijapur to Madras and St. Thomé.
Account of the capture of Trincomalee Bay and St. Thomé
by de la Haye, and of the siege of St. Thomé by the
Golconda army and hostilities with the Dutch

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NOTE

In the text of this volume all the pages relate to the year 1673, except from p. 380 to about p. 477 in Chapters III and VI, where the narrative sufficiently discloses the particular year referred to. The year '1673' is accordingly inserted in dates on pp. 317, 353 and 378, where Chapters I to III commence. The titles of Chapters V to VII show that they relate to 1673.

INTRODUCTION

This volume centres round St. Thome, a place on the Coromandel coast, adjacent to the Hindu town of Mailapur and lying three miles south of Madras, as roughly shown in the map facing p. 517. It was founded by the Portuguese, who were attracted to the spot by its traditional association with the apostle St. Thomas, whose original tomb was believed to be there. The reputed site is still shown to the visitor and is enclosed in the cathedral of St. Thomé. St. Thomas is alleged to have suffered martyrdom at the hands of Hindu bigots on or near St. Thomas' Mount, a hill within eight miles of St. Thomé, and his body to have been then carried to the latter place by his converts.[1] On the other hand the first mention of the tradition, as heard by Marco Polo *c.* 1293, was that he was accidentally killed by the arrow of a fowler belonging to the Govi (i.e. Pariah) caste; and this account receives corroboration from other sources.[2] Modern criticism rejects the tradition that St. Thomas came to Southern India as having no real historical basis;[3] but it had strong credence in earlier times and is still believed locally, as well as the performance of several miracles there by St. Thomas (cf. vol. I, p. 219). Early in the sixteenth century the existence of the house or chapel of the apostle on the Coromandel coast was reported to the Viceroy of Goa, who made enquiries; and ultimately the Portuguese settled at St. Thomé about 1522. They fortified it by encircling the place with stout high walls, supported by bastions and bulwarks, except on the east side facing the sea, where they put only a weak and comparatively low one.[4] The settlement suffered from bad government, internal dissensions, and Dutch hostility; and in 1662 it was attacked and captured by a force sent by the King of Golconda under his chief minister, Neknam Khan. Its Portuguese inhabitants were then expelled, most of them seeking refuge in Madras. The town was

[1] C. S. Srinivasachari, *History of Madras*, 1939, pp. 69, 70; Murray's *Handbook to India*, 1929, p. 624; Love, I, 286, 288, 292 *n.* 4, 293–4.

[2] Yule, *Travels of Marco Polo*, 3rd. edn., 355, 358 (also as to the tomb at St. Thomé, 341, 353–4).

[3] *Enc. Brit.*, XVI, 244 (saying the tradition probably owed its origin to Nestorian missionaries from Persia), XXII, 143–4; *Indian Antiquary*, XXXII, 149–51; G. M. Rae, *The Syrian Church in India*, pp. 24–5, 59.

[4] De Rezende, Martin, and Valentijn, cited by Love, I, 297–8, 305, 308

assigned to Neknam Khan, who strengthened the fortifications and made the wall facing the sea as strong as the others.[1]

After the failure of de la Haye's squadron to establish itself in Ceylon owing to Dutch opposition, it sailed for the Coromandel coast on 9 July 1672,[2] to obtain provisions which it greatly needed. It received some at Porto Novo, and then proceeded to St. Thomé roads, arriving on 21 July. There the French Viceroy's[3] request for supplies was rudely refused by the Muhammadan governor; but a cannonade from the ships resulted in his promising to furnish all the provisions required. According to Carré (pp. 437–8), he actually sent a boatload of supplies, but the Viceroy refused to take them and demanded heavy compensation for the affront he had suffered. Carré also states (pp. 438–9) that the Capuchin Father Ephraim at Madras and some Portuguese Jesuit priests at St. Thomé urged him to seize this opportunity to take the town, and that de la Haye and the French Company's director, Caron, who was with him, yielded to their arguments. Martin (I, 356–7) supports him by saying that, in spite of a show of irresolution, the Viceroy had made up his mind to attack the place. While the Abbé shrewdly criticises the wisdom of the decision (pp. 439–40), neither he nor Martin says anything to foster the suggestion that Caron's advice to de la Haye was treacherous, in order to serve the interests of his compatriots, the Dutch, and wreck the expeditionary force, as has been sometimes alleged.[4]

St. Thomé was accordingly attacked and captured on 25 July. The King of Golconda naturally objected to this sudden incursion by the French into his territory. He sent troops which by the beginning of September had entrenched themselves and set up batteries near the town, so that what is called 'the first siege' had really started. The Viceroy and his men put up a gallant defence, in the course of which they made several vigorous sorties, such

[1] Love, I, 43, 45, 174, 296, 303–5; *Enc. Brit.*, XVI, 245; JRAS, I (1834), 184–91; p. 436 *post*.

[2] All dates are in the 'New Style' (see vol. I, p. xxiv, *n.* 1), unless otherwise stated.

[3] De la Haye had proclaimed himself Viceroy for Louis XIV shortly after his arrival at Surat (p. 396 *post*; Kaeppelin, p. 81).

[4] E.g. *C.H.I.*, V, 69; Kaeppelin, 96. Delort (*Revue Maritime*, XLVII, 452) shows that the project of taking St. Thomé had been suggested to de la Haye at Surat, and that he sent a representative from Ceylon to sound Father Ephraim on the subject.

as those on 10 August (pp. 453–4), 5 November (pp. 461–5), 23 February 1673 (pp. 492–5), and 9–10 March (pp. 497–501). The last was a surprise attack by night on the main Moor (i.e. Golconda) encampment, which succeeded in driving them from it with severe losses. The camp was abandoned and the enemy retreated to a distance (p. 508). The first siege was thus raised; and de la Haye took advantage of the lull to sail with two of his ships, *Breton* and *Flamand*, to Masulipatam roads. His object was to surprise some Moor ships that were reported to be lying there, laden with valuable merchandise, and thus put pressure on the King of Golconda to make peace and leave him in possession of St. Thomé (pp. 532, 536). His departure was on 11 April (p. 512), three days before Carré's arrival.

The position of the French was undoubtedly dangerous, in spite of the failure of the first siege. The King of Golconda was raising levies for the renewal of the siege (pp. 357 *n*, 485), and there was a distinct prospect of the Dutch joining in it. They had already had a clash with de la Haye in the Bay of Trincomalee, and were by now aware of the war with the French in Europe.[1] In discussing the proposed expedition to Masulipatam, Martin (1, 438, 443) had warned him of the probability that a Dutch fleet would come in his absence to blockade the place; and the Dutch had the advantage of having a factory at Bhagnagar, near Golconda, from which they could readily conduct negotiations for an alliance against the French. De la Haye had only two seaworthy ships left (the *Breton* and the *Flamand*, p. 510) and was in short supply of food, men, money, and munitions of war (pp. 426, 529). There was no prospect of immediate or speedy succour from France; and little was likely to come from Surat, where the more powerful of the two directors, M. Gueston, was against giving further assistance to the Viceroy (pp. 513, 523). Nor could they obtain it to an adequate extent elsewhere. The English at Madras were compelled for their own safety to adopt a neutral attitude and to refrain from any open assistance, though they were allies of the French in the war against the Dutch. Any such help would have entailed retaliation by the Golconda state, from whom they held the town subject to payment of an annual rental of 1,200 pagodas.[2] They also disliked the prospect of having the French

[1] Batavia letter, 11 Dec. 1672, cited in Khan, *Sources*, 305; Martin, 1, 416.

[2] *E.F.*, 11, Madras, 1672; Love, 1, 343–5.

settled as trade-competitors in such close vicinity. Its governor, Sir William Langhorn, however, had spent some time in France and could speak French (p. 635), so was not as antagonistic as most of his countrymen at Madras. He, therefore, allowed provisions to be sent to St. Thomé surreptitiously (pp. 450, 573). Among the helpers were some Portuguese women who had been evacuated to Madras before the siege began, and who had become enamoured with members of the French garrison (p. 468). They formed an exception to the bulk of their countrymen, for these showed hostility to the French in various ways, following the example of the Viceroy at Goa, who objected to another Viceroy in India and to his having taken a town that formerly belonged to the Portuguese (pp. 390–1, 402, 447, 483). Even those who were resident at St. Thomé fled at the approach of the Moor army (p. 450). Thus the garrison mainly had to rely on their own efforts to obtain provisions from the country-side, where the Moors still interfered with this by occasional attacks (pp. 377, 508).

Such in general was the position at St. Thomé, when Carré arrived on 14 April 1673. His journey from Bijapur (of which a brief resumé is given below) took him four weeks, plus a stay of nearly a fortnight at Golconda, or rather Bhagnagar, the neighbouring business town, now known as Hyderabad.

Chapter I. *Journey from Bijapur to Golconda* (pp. 317–352)

Carré had only just recovered from a severe illness when he left Bijapur at 8 p.m. on 4 March 1673. By the 7th, though on a low diet and engaged in tiring marches, the change and fresh air had given him an appetite, and he was able to eat some grapes without ill effects. That evening he reached Afzalpur; and the Journal gives a somewhat fantastic account of the well-known episode of Shivaji's slaying the Bijapur general Afzal Khan, after whom the town was called. It also supports the traditional story that Afzal Khan murdered all his wives before he left to oppose Shivaji, from a premonition or prediction that he would never return. Here Carré began to feel stronger. On 9 March he came across a number of pilgrims on their way to or from a famous Moslem saint's shrine at Gulbarga, and the Journal describes their amusing antics. He entered Golconda territory on the 11th, and reached the royal town itself on the 14th.

He stayed, however, not at Golconda, but at a suburb nearer the neighbouring town of Bhagnagar. An old Portuguese pastor, one of those to whom he had written from Bijapur, received him; and the Abbé enjoyed the society of a priest and access to a church. After resting for six days in seclusion, his health had so improved that he visited the two towns, wearing the garb of a Persian merchant. The Journal gives an interesting account of Golconda, where new levies of troops were being collected and trained for use against the French at St. Thomé. It also contains a long, but readable, tale of a young Frenchman who had deserted from a ship of de la Haye's squadron at Madras, and who after his arrival at Golconda had married a Portuguese lady. Included in his story are the capture of the French ships *Phoenix* and *Europe* by the Dutch at Trincomalee, and the unhappy fate of several other French deserters who had been imprisoned at Golconda. The Abbé tried to assist him in befriending two of the latter, and gave him certain instructions for that purpose; but the next day the young man came back very distressed at having heard that, because of a recent French success against the Golconda forces at St. Thomé, all the deserters were to be tortured to death. This state of mind moved the Abbé to indignation, and he reproved the other for not rejoicing at his nation's success, instead of being saddened at the possible death of men who thereby would get only the punishment they deserved.

This French success had a depressing effect at Golconda, while on the other hand it made Carré impatient to reach St. Thomé, now that he was better able to withstand the fatigues of the remaining journey. He turned a deaf ear to the arguments of the Portuguese priest against it, and persuaded the latter to visit the Dutch factory and ask for a passport to enable him to go to Masulipatam, on the pretence that he was a French missionary, who wanted to take ship there for his destination, Siam. The Dutch 'third' thereupon came to see Carré, and told him that their commandant offered him his house and services, if desired. This relieved his anxiety, as a Dutch permit had great potency in that part of India; and on 25 March he went with his servants and baggage to the Dutch factory to get one. Its chief, Signor Hartsing, received him very civilly, and seeing he was still delicate, advised him to stay a few days in the factory for treatment by a clever Hindu doctor. He also recommended him to go first to

Madras or St. Thomé and to proceed to Siam on a ship due to sail from Masulipatam in August or September. Carré had some difficulty in countering these suggestions, but succeeded in getting Hartsing to agree to give him the passport without delay. Unexpected events, however, forced him to make a longer stay at the factory. These related to trouble caused by a Canarin (Kanarese) Christian of Portuguese descent who (at the request of the priest) had been allowed to accompany Carré on his journey; the Canarin's mad behaviour resulted in the local kotwal (police-commandant) refusing to grant a permit to leave the town. The Dutch, being annoyed at this and having other grievances against the kotwal, asked Carré to stay a couple of days, while they complained to the King of Golconda about that official's conduct.

He complied and received such courteous and friendly treatment from his hosts that it dispelled the suspicions he had formerly harboured of their wanting to entrap him. The Journal contains an interesting account of the factory and its garden, which had water brought to it through underground channels from a distance of about ten miles. It also gives an entertaining description of the unmelodious performances of a troop of Kanarese musicians they employed to play at their meals. On 27 March the Dutch commandant obtained orders from the king, maintaining their privileges to their entire satisfaction. He told Carré he could leave when he wanted, and that he need not even reveal his name, as the passport would certify him to be an officer of the Dutch Company. The Abbé could not have done better, and the only thing that annoyed him was having to yield to the supplications of the musicians to take with him 'the miserable Canarin', who had given so much trouble. He finally agreed to this, provided the latter merely followed his cortège, and was to be left behind if he did not keep up with it.

Chapter II. *Journey from Golconda to St. Thomé* (pp. 353–377)

Still feeble but convalescent, Carré departed in his palanquin at daybreak on 28 March. The route he took seems to have been by way of Malkapur, which he reached that day at noon, and thence for the following three days in a south-westerly direction to the River Kistna, where it borders on the P[illegible]nad tract of what is now the Guntur district. This was mostly easy going on level ground through pleasant country; and to his satisfaction he lost

the Canarin on 31 March. The next day he crossed the River Kistna, and proceeding by mountain paths *via* Macherla and Marrivemula, on 6 April reached Nellore, where the numerous monkeys expecting food from travellers gave him some annoyance. On information that the roads to the south were full of disorderly soldiers, he took a side route, which brought him to the Coromandel coast at Kottapatnam three days later. Thence he got to the neighbourhood of Pulicat on 12 April. Here he and his party were stopped by Dutch guards and taken to their fort for examination, together with two Portuguese gentlemen on their way to Goa.

The Abbé gives an entertaining account of the interview with the commandant (Sr. Paviljoen) and three other Dutch officers. He was annoyed with one of his companions, who not only indulged in a violent tirade against the French, but also suggested that Carré's accent showed he was not really Portuguese, as he claimed to be. This pose was necessary, for it was no use pretending he was a Dutchman (though such a claim would be supported by his passport) before officers of that nation, and to admit that he was a Frenchman would at once bring him into trouble, as the French and the Dutch were at war. So he lied vigorously to save himself, and proceeded to give a dressing-down to his adversary in an ingenious way which convinced the Dutch officers that he was Portuguese. He had, however, to stay the night at a Dutch hostelry, where he further disconcerted the gentleman aforesaid by revealing that he was a priest and hinting at the danger of the other's falling into the hands of the Inquisition at Goa because of the attack he had made on Carré. His description of an interview with three doctors from the Dutch factory, and another next day with its Calvinist minister, shows a sense of humour, which enabled him to get rid of such 'absurd visitors'.

After getting his passport from the commandant, he left Pulicat on the morning of 13 April and reached Madras on the afternoon of the next day. Here he met Father Ephraim, one of the two Capuchin priests who had been allowed to reside and minister there for many years. An hour later he left for St. Thomé in company with some French officers, who had come to Madras to buy provisions. On his arrival he was taken to the governor, M. de Rebrey, who received him very courteously as a guest in his house.

The next part of the Journal (chaps. III and IV) is mainly devoted to a detailed account of the proceedings of de la Haye's squadron of nine ships of the line and three of the French Company, from the time it left France in March 1670 down to the date of Carré's arrival at St. Thomé. The latter portion of chap. III (pp. 402–32) gives a full description of the effort made by de la Haye and Caron to establish a settlement at Trincomalee in Ceylon. In this they signally failed, owing to opposition by the Dutch, who had ousted the Portuguese from their predominance in that island after a long struggle ending in 1658.[1] The local Dutch partly forestalled the attempt by occupying forts dominating the Bay of Kutiari, which the French squadron entered on 28 March 1672. On hearing of this intrusion General Rijkloff, the Dutch commander-in-chief, brought a fleet of some fifteen vessels to the place on 15 May, and started hostilities by seizing two French ships which had been sent to the Coromandel coast for provisions, on their return about the end of May. As the outbreak of war in Europe between the two countries was not then known, neither fleet ventured to attack the other;[2] but there were some scuffles between their outposts on land, and the Dutch managed to prevent any large supply of food from reaching the squadron. The want of provisions was the main reason why de la Haye and Caron decided to abandon the project; and they sailed with the eight ships that were still seaworthy for the Coromandel coast. Rijkloff's fleet then entered the bay, and the small garrison left behind capitulated. Carré severely criticises the two leaders of the expedition for their decision to abandon Trincomalee (pp. 419, 426), but says that Caron had pressed de la Haye at Surat to take enough provisions to last a year (p. 414). If he had done this, the situation would not have been so adverse.

Chap. IV (pp. 436–516) tells the story of the squadron from its arrival before St. Thomé in July 1672 up to 14 April 1673, when Carré came there. A brief outline of this has been given above

[1] *C.H.I.*, V, 41–8.

[2] Kaeppelin (93) cites documents showing that de la Haye proposed to attack the Dutch fleet, but that Caron succeeded in dissuading him; though he admits Caron's advice had 'apparent force', he thinks the gamble of a fight would have been the better course. The *C.H.I.*, V, 68, takes a similar view, but is more positive in condemning Caron. Delort, *Revue Maritime*, XLVII, 60, 62, shows that the Dutch force, both in ships and men, was far superior to that of the French, so the gamble would have been a dangerous one.

and need not be extended here. Items deserving mention are the abortive peace proposals of Baba Sahib, one of the Golconda generals (pp. 477–80), the withdrawal of the French from Masulipatam, resulting in the arrival of François Martin and three others from that factory in January 1673 (pp. 481–3); the reference to Rajputs as serving in the Golconda army (p. 500); the wounding of two Moor generals, Baba Sahib and Trimbak Bussora (p. 503); and the killing and burial of a third general, Mandala Naik (pp. 505–7).

Chaps. III and IV also contain a vivid description of the unfortunate dissensions among the various directors of the Surat factory, which were so prejudicial to French success in India (pp. 381–3, 392–6, 414–7, 512–6). It was largely on this account that in October 1672 Caron, with de la Haye's consent, left St. Thomé in the *Jules* for France—a voyage that ended with her shipwreck near Lisbon and the death of Caron by drowning (pp. 395, 459).

Though the Abbé was not an eyewitness of the events narrated in these two chapters, his contact with the French Viceroy and his officers at St. Thomé put him in a good position to obtain first-hand evidence regarding them. On this part of the Journal and the subsequent events during his stay there or at Madras, his statements have been carefully checked with contemporaneous authorities such as Martin's *Mémoires*, the anonymous *Journal* of the squadron under de la Haye, and the records of Fort St. George in the India Office. The general result, as shown in the notes to the text is satisfactory, subject to Carré's habitual tendency to exaggerate.

Chaps. V to VII cover the period from two days after Carré's arrival to 21 September 1673, when he left for Bombay on his return journey to France. Only a few salient points in regard to it need be noted; and it would serve little purpose to epitomise what at times is almost a daily record of occurrences at St. Thomé and Madras, with digressions such as those relating to de la Haye's expedition to Masulipatam and thence to Pondicherry; negotiations by the French and Dutch at Golconda; and some interesting information as to Hindu castes, coinage, and prices of provisions, at Madras (pp. 592–7). The Abbé removed to Madras for the benefit of his health some time towards the end of May (p. 530). Early in that month he had called on Governor Langhorn, in

order to deliver some packets for him brought from Surat to St. Thomé by M. Baron, who had arrived there with three ships, but otherwise little help in men and money for the place (pp. 523, 526, *n.* 1). Langhorn received him cordially, and relations between them seem to have been always civil and friendly,[1] though Carré thoroughly disapproved of Langhorn's policy of neutrality and his refusal to give effective help to de la Haye, as an ally. At first he stayed in White Town (as the European quarter near Fort St. George was called), where the governor found him a convenient lodging (p. 530). Thence (at any rate after the arrival of a Dutch fleet of fourteen ships to blockade St. Thomé on 16 June) he sent nightly convoys of provisions to that place. Langhorn objected to this, so in the beginning of July he moved to the suburb of Peddanaikpetta, where he had greater facilities for surreptitious aid to his compatriots (pp. 554, 573, 631). About the same time the Dutch fleet sailed to the south, hoping to seize or sink the *Breton*, which had gone to Pondicherry after a valiant attempt to enter St. Thomé roads on 20 June (pp. 560–6). De la Haye, however, managed to evade the enemy and brought the *Breton* to St. Thomé on 5 July. Carré met him there that same day, and the Viceroy asked him to continue his help to them from Madras (p. 576). He returned accordingly and henceforth acted as the representative of de la Haye in business connected with St. Thomé.

He gave useful and energetic service in that respect, as is evident from the full account of his activities in chaps. VI and VII. In this he received great help from Kasi Viranna, the English Company's chief merchant and the sole agent for the French Company in those parts (p. 580). An instance of this is the ingenious method by which the Abbé, with Viranna's aid and the admitted resort to a lie (p. 616), succeeded in defeating efforts by Langhorn, Father Ephraim, and a combination of English and Indian merchants, to prevent his shipping a large consignment of provisions to St. Thomé in August, after news had been received that the Dutch fleet was returning to blockade the town.

Chap. VII opens with the return of some twenty Dutch ships to St. Thomé roads on 22 August, having missed the English Company's fleet of ten ships, which reached Madras on 9–10 August and left on the 19th to return to Masulipatam (pp. 602,

[1] An exception should perhaps be made in regard to the interview of 28 August (p. 632).

615, 622). After three more ships had joined them on the 23rd, the combined fleet left the roads on St. Bartholomew's day,[1] the 24th, most of them going northwards to Pulicat, the Dutch headquarters on the Coromandel coast. On 1 September a fight took place between the Dutch and English fleets off Petapoli (Nizampatam), in which the latter lost three ships; and Carré's details (pp. 662–5), though at second-hand, are a useful addition to other sources of information about this naval action. The Dutch in their turn were so battered that they were unable to pursue the remaining seven English ships, which safely reached Madras on 11 September.

Meanwhile on the night of 20–21 August the French Viceroy had made a sortie and driven the Golconda forces from their new camp to Poonamallee, a fort 13 miles west of Madras. Early in September, however, the Moors were taking steps to send reinforcements under a new general to start a second siege of St. Thomé (p. 639), while the Dutch were preparing to send a land-force from Pulicat and Sadras to join in an attempt, with the aid of their fleet, to starve the garrison into surrender (pp. 653, 659). Besides lacking provisions, it was in sore need of munitions and money, and efforts to raise funds at Madras and elsewhere had failed (pp. 607, 610–1, 612). In mid-September Langhorn had agreed with Rijkloff van Goens, the Dutch general, to abstain from hostilities and not to assist the French in any way (pp. 667–8). Things were now becoming critical, and on 20 September de la Haye and Baron decided to dispatch Carré to Surat, to induce the directors there to furnish them with money and such other succour as was possible. Thence he was to return to France, to acquaint the King and his minister, Colbert, with the bad state of affairs at St. Thomé. The presence of the English ships, which were shortly sailing for Surat on their homeward voyage, offered a convenient opportunity of getting there; and at the Viceroy's request Langhorn readily consented to Carré having a passage in one of the vessels. This was the *Bombay Merchant*, with whose commander (Captain Erwin) the Abbé soon made friends. He accordingly embarked in her on the evening of the 21st.

The volume supplies further evidence of Carré's merits as an honest observer. His criticism of de la Haye and Caron over the

[1] This was Carré's 'name-day', and he calls St. Bartholomew his 'patron saint' (p. 626, cf. vol. 1, p. xxviii).

failure of their enterprise in Ceylon has already been noticed (p. xx); and he reflects severely on French mismanagement in the East in connection with the dissensions at Surat (e.g. pp. 382–3, 392–6). He was a fervid admirer of the Viceroy, but he clearly shows disapproval of that functionary's mistrust of Martin, thus preventing the compromise with the King of Golconda that might otherwise have resulted from the Viceroy's visit to Masulipatam (p. 541); also of his offensive letters to Langhorn (pp. 631, 666, 669), and of his obstinacy in refusing to give any assurance to the three officers who had deserted from the *Breton* and taken refuge in Madras (pp. 644, 667). Though his loyalty and patriotism blinded the Abbé to a due appreciation of the delicate position of Langhorn and his countrymen in the conflict at St. Thomé, his representation of the attitude they adopted is on the whole a fair one; and his testimony (p. 587) that the English, owing to their method of government, were loved and respected by the natives of the country, is noteworthy praise from a Frenchman with his dislike of their policy. Similarly, though he loathed the Dutch, he admits (p. 349) that they were the best governed nation in India and most capable merchants.

We add a few lines as to developments subsequent to Carré's departure. His efforts to have money sent from Surat to St. Thomé in time for the relief of its garrion ended in failure (vol. III, *n.* in ch. iv); and although de la Haye managed to hold out for nearly a year longer, the rigid blockade set up by the combined Dutch and Moor forces forced him to capitulate on 6 September 1674. After the French Viceroy had left for France and Baron for Surat, Martin retired with some sixty compatriots to Pondicherry, where his wise policy and good management started its fortification and laid the foundation for its prosperity. Baron died at Surat in 1683; and in 1686, Martin, who had been recalled to Surat in 1681, returned to Pondicherry as chief. Before his death in 1706, his true patriotism had put French affairs on a path of progress, which led to the struggle with the English in the 18th century for mastery in India.[1]

April, 1947

C. F.
R. B.

[1] Love, I, 336; Malleson, 23–30, 35–7; Martin, II, xxix–xxx, 320.

CHAPTER I

JOURNEY FROM BIJAPUR TO GOLCONDA

Saturday, 3 [*sic* should be 4] *March* 1673. I left Bijapur at eight o'clock in the evening with forty peons, whom Khwaja Abdullah had given me as an escort for the rest of the night until we were some leagues away from the town. I also made my own people march quickly all night without stopping.

Sunday, 4 [*sic* should be 5] *March*. At daybreak we reached the town of Nactana [Nathan, about 11 miles north-east of Bijapur], situated in the middle of a large and arid plain without any verdure or attraction. The place seemed very ancient, being surrounded by ruined walls, which were partly covered with green and withered creepers and grass, showing how little they were cared for. At its entrance we found a caravanserai for the use of travellers, which appeared still older than the town, and a bazar for the sale of provisions. Notwithstanding its antiquity, the town, an appanage of Khavass Khan, was well frequented and had a good trade. My people asked whether I wished to rest here; but though I felt far from well, I preferred to pass on to a place less crowded and farther away from Bijapur. I, therefore, only bought some food for my servants, who fetched it from the town while my conjee was being boiled. Here I dismissed my Persian's peons, whom I sent back to Bijapur. We then continued on our journey until noon, when we stopped at Tomba [Tamba, about 10 miles north-east of Nathan], a little town watered by a river which was almost dry on account of the great heat. This has been so intense about here that not only were the plains and country mostly waste from want of water, but also rivers and tanks were dried up. I felt so ill in this place that I was obliged to stay there the rest of the day. There was also another reason which prevented us from going on, namely that we had still to cross large tracts of arid country, which were almost deserts, and we were warned that the neighbouring villages were full of soldiers and robbers who might molest us, if they encountered us on the roads by night.

Next day, 5 [*sic* should be 6] *March*. We marched all day without any mishap or trouble, and though I met many soldiers, I received nothing but courtesy from them. They did not, in fact, dare to do anything else, as I had an escort of twenty-five persons.

We crossed three rivers, of which the two first were almost without water, and the third had a ford.

At the end of the day we reached Almada [? Almel, about 35 miles from Bijapur], a little uninteresting town. I felt so tired that I feared I could not continue, at which my people were very grieved and tried all they could to show me their affection and good will. Until then I had lived on nothing but conjee, which is a very light food; but after the three days in the fresh country air without any fever, though I felt very weak, I thought I could safely take some more substantial nourishment. I therefore altered my régime and ordered chicken soup, with some herbs that they found here. I took a little of this at midnight and felt so much stronger that I had some more made to take before starting again. I mention this, as in this country no one would dare to give a sick person soup made with even a handful of meat. It is supposed to be poison, and is so dangerous that I have indeed seen many die from drinking such soup. However, I found myself much relieved and fortified by these two meals, which I needed. They could not but do me good in the fresh air and exertion of travel to which I now gradually began to become accustomed, so that I inwardly rejoiced and felt that things were going to improve. This in turn gave me courage, which delighted all my people.

Tuesday, 6 [*sic* should be 7] *March*. Finding myself a little better, I continued my journey at dawn in a coolness so pleasant that I slept in my palanquin for three hours, the first real sleep I had had since my bad illness began. About eight o'clock we came to a river-crossing, where my people rested for half an hour and ate a small meal. It was a wonderful change, for my sleep so refreshed me that I commenced to feel a little appetite and wished to eat something, but could not make up my mind what I wanted. I saw my servants seated on the grass near me, eating curds, which some women had brought them, with melons, salt fish, and other sorts of horrible things that they devoured with as much gusto as we would eat strawberries with clotted cream and sugar in our country. I watched them eagerly eating all these things mixed with large spoonfuls of curds, and I own that I began to be hungry. Well knowing, however, that everything there was bad for me, but wishing to satisfy at least one of my senses, I told a servant to bring me a large melon that he had in his hands, that I might smell it. I then asked him for a knife that I might open it

and see if its contents were as good as it smelt. 'No, my dear master,' he cried, 'I beg you not to eat this unwholesome food, which will renew your fever. I would rather bring you a few grapes, which will not harm you, if eaten with a little bread.' He brought me a large basket of fine grapes and fresh figs, which my Persian had given me on my departure from Bijapur. I took a small bunch and found the grapes delicious, though I ate with as much fear as if I had stolen it, for I was afraid I should be upset by so doing. But after an hour had passed without any ill effects, I told my people to keep this basket very carefully, until we got to some place where there were vines.

We arrived at Abdelpour [Afzalpur] a little before nightfall after a whole day's march. It is a delightful town, situated in a fertile lowland with large meadows watered by a stream, which flows through the sluice of a large reservoir above the town: its water is confined by a curved embankment faced with stone, a work which well shows the power and magnificence of its builder, the nobleman of the place. He was one of the greatest warriors and best generals in the kingdom of Bijapur in the reign of its rightful king, who was poisoned by his unfaithful wife.[1] This governor was indeed a powerful and courageous vizir, who had done many splendid things for the good of the kingdom. Later on he retired to this town of Afzalpur, which had been granted to him, and lived here in great state and comfort in a magnificent castle. He was at ease here when the last Bijapur king sent an army against Prince Shivaji under Rustam Zaman, governor of Onquery [Hukeri], whose history I have already given [vol. 1, pp. 229–30]. He was summoned to the court and made a general of 15,000 horse, which were again sent to fight Shivaji. He resolutely promised the king to conquer the enemy or die in the attempt. But before leaving he committed an act, which was the most cruel and detestable it is possible to imagine. This man, like all those orientals whose chief pleasure in the world is to pass their lives among flocks of women, and being one of the most powerful nobles in the kingdom, had a fine seraglio of 200 women, to whom he was so passionately attached that he could

[1] I.e. in the reign of Muhammad Adil Shah (1626–56), cf. vol. 1, p. 246. As appears later, the general in question was Afzal Khan, 'a noble of the first rank, who had fought with conspicuous bravery and skill in the Karnatak expeditions and the more recent war with the Mughals' (Sarkar, *Aurangzib*, 107).

not bring himself to leave them. Inspired by a mad jealousy, he resolved that no one else should see or enjoy the treasures he guarded so dearly, in the event of his death in battle. Therefore, when the time for his departure came, he left the court and went to Afzalpur to settle his household affairs. He stayed there three days, shut up in his seraglio, to feast and disport himself for the last time with his wives. He then actually had them all murdered and thrown into a fire, which he had prepared for this purpose in the middle of his palace.[1] After this noble exploit, which was the last of his life, he left without any remorse, breathing fire and slaughter against the enemy. They soon made him rue this infamous cruelty towards a sex from whom he had always received favours, submission, and a blind obedience to his will.

Prince Shivaji, who had received warning of his march, went to meet him and placed all his forces in a favourable position to await attack. Both armies were in sight of one another; and the two generals, the most valiant warriors in the East, did wonders in moving their squadrons so as to seize hills and other points of

[1] The substance of this story is supported by tradition and the tombs referred to in the following extract from *Bom. Pres. Gaz.*, XXIII, 578:—'. . . the hamlet of Takki or Afzulpur [a part of Bijapur], called after Shivaji's victim, Afzul Khan, whose summer palace was in this quarter. Some little distance off is the family burial-ground of Afzul Khan, to which a curious story belongs. On a broad platform stretching along one side of what was once a masonry pond or well, but which is now silted up and embowered in mango and tamarind trees, are rows of tombs, all very closely alike. Examination shows from the device carved on their tops that these are all women's tombs, and that they are ranged in eleven rows of seven tombs each. All are of the same size and shape and the same distance apart, except one on the north-west corner, which is a little larger. The Bijapur story of these tombs is that, when in 1659 Afzul Khan volunteered to lead the fatal expedition [against Shivaji], the astrologers warned him that he would never return. On the strength of this warning he set his house in order by drowning his 77 wives in the palace pond, burying their bodies in the pond bank, and adorning their graves with rows of neat tombs. The story may be false; there are no means of testing its truth. Still it is strange to find so many tombs of precisely the same pattern and apparently of the same age, in what was originally a part of the private grounds of Afzul Khan's palace.' See also *Arch. Survey of India*, XXXVII (Bijapur), 97–8, and plate LXXXIV. The fact that Carré mentions the story, though with some exaggeration, and a wrong placing of the incident, adds to its apparent authenticity. On the other hand, Afzal Khan's wives are stated to have escaped, after his assassination (Sarkar, *Shivaji*, 68: cf. Grant Duff, I, 141, who says that his 'son and family' escaped). The fact that there is a tomb of Afzal Khan at Afzalpur (see *n.* 2 at p. 323 *post*) also to some extent goes against the story.

vantage. The whole country swarmed with cavalry, elephants, camels, carrying thousands of standards, to which each company could rally. Shivaji, on his side, encouraged his men by voice and action, showing himself in every part of his camp. In passing down their ranks, he urged them to remember that they were soldiers, brothers in arms, and companions in fortune, of the great Shivaji; that they must never fear enemies whom they had beaten so often, and who were more ready to retreat in an emergency than to attack and give a good account of themselves. He added that, if the enemy's general was once the bravest man in the kingdom and had won great victories, it was at a time when he cared only for the art of war; now he had embraced another sort of life amid the pleasures and delights of the world, so that he had lost all his former redoubtable qualities, and become cowardly and effeminate. Shivaji's soldiers were roused by his speech, and the camp rang on all sides with shouts and acclamations, which struck terror and panic into the hearts of the most courageous of their opponents. The latter knew that they had to do with an army which had made every oriental power tremble by reason of its ever increasing victories and conquests. They shivered at the mere sight of these terrible people, against whom they fought more unwillingly than they would have done against another less redoubtable army.

Both sides were awaiting the signal to attack, when two heralds were seen issuing from Shivaji's camp. They asked the general to come for a quarter of an hour's interview with that prince, who wished to communicate something of importance before the battle commenced. The general agreed to this, and it was arranged that they should both meet, unarmed, between the two armies with an escort of only two soldiers, who were to stand a little aside, so as not to hear the conversation. Shivaji spoke first and said to the other that he was well aware of his valour, his merits and the glory he had acquired in his warlike career; also he had not forgotten the many courageous actions that had won him such a splendid reputation in his kingdom. Therefore he had been compelled to bring all his forces against him, in order to have the glory of vanquishing such a fine army as his, as he had no doubt of doing. But the real reason for which he had requested the interview before the battle was to demand the dismissal of a man in that army who did not merit the glory and honour of a soldier's death. The general, astonished at Shivaji's speech, asked who was

the man that he wished to exclude from the glory of battle. 'It is yourself, sir,' he replied, 'you, who have lost all your former glory and the reputation you had acquired by your arms through your last action in massacring and burning two hundred poor women in such a brutal, inhuman and cowardly manner. You do not deserve to be conquered by force of arms, but rather to be chastised and punished in a manner worthy of your infamous action.' He then drew a poisoned knife, which he had hidden in the folds of his belt, and plunging it three times into his body, stretched him dead at his feet.[1]

Shivaji's generals, who had been given this coup for a cue, then charged the enemy so promptly that the first squadrons were cut in pieces, and the rest, being panicstricken, surrendered to their conqueror. The general's son and six of his principal officers were taken prisoner and brought to the king. They begged for quarter for the rest of their troops, who were being massacred without mercy. Shivaji then stopped the carnage and, having surrounded the rest of the enemy, promised them quarter and good rewards, if they would enter his service and swear an oath of fidelity. They were all delighted, and with one voice declared that they would be glad to fight, and pass the rest of their lives, under the standard of the greatest captain in all the East.[2] He accordingly reinstated all the captains and officers in their appointments, and returned victorious from a battle in which he had lost but few of his own men. Before leaving the field, he ordered some camp-followers of

[1] Carré's account of Afzal Khan's death differs from that generally accepted. This is that he was enticed to the interview by Shivaji's professions of submission and promises, and that during the usual embrace the latter struck the other with the weapon known as *waghnakh* from its resemblance to a tiger's claws, which he had concealed in his left hand (*C.H.I.*, IV, 272; Grant Duff, I, 138–40; Sarkar, *Aurangzib*, 198–9). As to the controversy whether Afzal Khan tried to kill Shivaji first, see Grant Duff, ed. Edwardes, I, *n.* 1 on pp. 135–6. Carré's book (II, 14) varies the above account of Shivaji's talk with Afzal Khan at the interview by saying that Shivaji declared their fighting against one another would be contrary to the obligations of the old friendship between them, and that, in plunging his dagger into Afzal Khan's breast, he exclaimed that that was the punishment his crimes deserved (a more sensational way of putting the story).

[2] This statement is supported by Khafi Khan (tr. *E.H.I.*, VII, 260), who says that Shivaji proposed to take the Bijapur soldiery into his service and gained them over. Grant Duff (I, 141) also says that many of those captured were induced to enter his service

the enemy to take the body of their general, which he made them honourably place in one of his palanquins, after covering it with black.[1] He sent it to the nearest town, to which some companies of cavalry had fled. They joined the cortège and escorted it to Afzalpur, where a magnificent tomb was erected for him on the very spot where his unfortunate wives had been buried.[2]

The town of Afzalpur is a long one, situated in the midst of groves of palms and other fruit-trees, which shade and conceal most of the houses. It is inhabited principally by Hindus, and by some Moors who govern it. In addition to the great reservoir which irrigates it on every side, there is also a river, the waters of which are very clear and reputed to be healthful. I passed the night in this place, where I began to take a little more food, making me feel a bit better and more vigorous.

Wednesday, 8 *March*. Two hours before daybreak I continued my journey with a long day's march, to avoid spending a night in dangerous places, full of robbers. During the morning we passed four large villages and two rivers. On the banks of the last one we found some large shady trees, where we stopped at midday for a little rest and to give my people time to eat their food. We then continued on our road until nightfall, when we arrived at a large town called Gabour,[3] in the middle of open country. It was so full of travellers that we had great difficulty in finding a place to shelter us, for it is the custom here that the first arrivals cannot be displaced by newcomers, once they have taken their positions in the caravanserai. Latecomers, even if they are of the highest rank, cannot dislodge the former, unless the places are given up voluntarily, or for some pieces of silver, which I gave this time, in order to have a comfortable place.

Thursday, 9 *March*. After having marched all the morning while it was cool, I was surprised to find the road full of processions of

[1] Afzal Khan's decapitated head was, however, taken to Shivaji's hill-fort of Partabgarh and buried there (Grant Duff, I, 140; Sen, *Foreign Biographies of Shivaji*, 229 *n.*).

[2] In his book (II, 15–6) Carré says he remembers seeing workmen engaged in building the mausoleum at Afzalpur; and this is corroborated by Sheet 56 C–8, which shows 'Afzal Khan's tomb' to the south-west of that place.

[3] That this place was not Gulbarga, or Kulbarga, now the head-town of a district in the Hyderabad state, is shown by Carré's mention of it below as off the route he followed. It was Gobūr, about half-way between Athnur and Gulbarga.

fakirs and Hindus, which walked in a different manner from one another. Those going the same way as myself proceeded very quickly, as if they were in a hurry to reach their destination, while on the contrary those who were returning to the direction from which I had come, stopped frequently, some on the banks of a well-wooded stream to feast on the fruit, milk, and cakes, which they carried with them, while others danced and made merry with all sorts of antics. The latter wore different marks: most of the men had a sort of cradle on their heads, covered by little streamers of cocks' feathers, bells, and the like. The women and children all carried sticks which they lifted in the air, for the wind to turn whirligigs on them, made of cloth in all sorts of colours. They also carried plates of copper, little pots, and a sort of caldron on which they beat as on our Basque drums. Others, who had shaved their heads, carried their hair on the end of sticks, as if it was a very precious possession.

These and a thousand other follies gave me much amusement all day and I could not imagine the reason for these extravagances. We arrived that evening at Trapour, a large town full of Hindus, where there is a good trade in painted [printed] cloths, chintzes, calicoes, and other sorts of merchandise. Here were still more of the same sort of folk that I had met on the road. This led me to enquire of a local Hindu, who came to speak to me, what it all meant. 'Why,' he replied, 'don't you know that these are holy families, who have come from a great distance to worship their saint called Mundun la Heb, whom they have at Calberga, a large village about two leagues from here.[1] Every year there is a pilgrimage there by a great number of people such as you have seen. They are thus sanctified when they return home.' 'But,' I said,

[1] This saint evidently is the one generally known as Khwaja Banda Nawaz (Carré's name for him being a corruption of the last two words), whose shrine is at Gulbarga. His name was Sadr-ud-din Muhammad Husaini, and he was also known as Sayyid Muhammad Gesu Daraz, on account of his having long ringlets. He lived at Gulbarga in the reign of the Bahmani Sultans, *c.* 1413–22; a visit to his shrine was supposed to have the same benefit as performing the pilgrimage to Mecca; and a very large concourse of people used to be attracted to his tomb, a magnificent edifice, covered with a dome, in the middle of an extensive court. His *urs* (assembling of his worshippers) began on the 16th day of the month Ziqada, which in 1673 (A.H. 1083) corresponded to 7 March (O.S.) or 17 March (N.S.). (Beale, *Oriental Biog. Dict.*, revised ed., 264–5; *Imp. Gaz. Ind.*, XII, 383; Jaffer Shurreef, *Qanoon-e-Islam*, 265; Pharaoh & Co.'s *Gaz. of Southern India*, Madras, 1855, *s.v.* Goolburgah.)

'what is meant by all those instruments and streamers paraded by them?' 'Those,' he said, 'are souvenirs of their pilgrimage, which they keep all their lives, and which they regard with much confidence and devotion in any afflictions or maladies that may befall them. They put their children, when sick, into those little cradles you saw, and are quite content, whether the child lives or dies, because the cradle had been in the saint's house and had been sanctified by him. The little banners carried by the women are put on the head, or into the hands, of a woman in childbirth for her safe delivery. The copper pots and plates are for the food of anyone who is dangerously ill, and those who carry their hair on the end of sticks are, as you saw, quite young girls. They cut their hair, while virgins, to get it sanctified by the saint, and keep it carefully to show that they were very young at the time of this pilgrimage.' The Hindu also told me of some disgraceful things, of which I cannot speak. I was astonished at the stupidity, coarseness and foolishness of these poor people, who, however, seem quite happy and contented, though leading a life which perhaps is the lowest and most infamous and unhappy in the world. Some of them [fakirs] have no other pleasures but to cover their bodies with ashes, mud and filth, and all sorts of disgusting things, so that one can hardly imagine anything more hideous and horrible than this class of people. The most powerful of them, however, and those who are considered the wisest and the most judicious in this country, are esteemed and worshipped to such an extent that they are allowed to commit the most dreadful acts in a household, which is supposed to be sanctified thereby.[1]

I continued on my road for the next two days, always through fields of cotton, which was now ripe. These plains, therefore, swarmed with crowds of men, women, children, from all the neighbouring villages, to pick the cotton, just as we see in September swarms of people gathering the grapes along our river Loire.

Saturday, 11 *March*. At four o'clock in the afternoon we reached Tabourg, a little village, the last in the kingdom of Bijapur, and

[1] Cf. Fryer's remarks (II, 113–4) on the dissolute habits of fakirs. That 'disgraceful things' were done at the saint's *urs*, as Carré says he was told, is also suggested by the fact that the vices of the saint's descendants led to the expulsion of the family from Gulbarga, and to the apppointment of a government nominee to receive the revenues assigned for the tomb's support, so that the attendance at the *urs* has fallen off (*Gaz. of Southern India*, *s.v.* Goolburgah).

watered by a large river which separates it from the kingdom of Golconda. After crossing the river we entered Golconda territory and marched about a league to Joyvigny, a small town and the first in that kingdom.[1] Bijapur money is current only up to the last river which we had just crossed, and is not accepted here.

During the next two days we passed through a pleasant and fertile country, watered by several rivers and many tanks. It contains many large villages, very wealthy owing to the manufacture of cotton and silk goods of which there is a large trade in this kingdom.[2]

Tuesday, 14 *March*. At four o'clock in the afternoon I arrived within a league of the royal town of Golconda. The road here was very narrow and twisted about between a chain of rocks and mountains.[3] I had much trouble in getting myself and my servants along it, as it was only a little track, which frequently disappeared between the large stones and rocks. These were so close together and interlaced that it was nightfall before we arrived between the towns of Bagnagard [Bhāgnagar] and Golconda.[4] I stopped at the house of an old Portuguese priest, who was vicar of the Golconda Mission, and whose house and church are in a suburb called Millapour.[5] The good old man received me very

[1] In 1672 the boundary line between the Bijapur and Golconda kingdoms in this part ran near Malkhed or Malkhaid, which Sarkar (*Aurangzib*, 252) calls the first fort on the western frontier of Golconda. It lay on the R. Banithora, which Carré crossed below that fort at about lat. 17° 10′ N. and long. 77° E., as 'Joyvigny' evidently corresponds to 'Jeewaniyee', shown in Sheet No. 56–G on the Golconda side of the river. Opposite it, on the other side of the river, is 'Mootagah', of which 'Tabourg' is probably a corruption, a misreading from rough notes (cf. *n*. 5 at p. 594 *post*), or a faulty recollection. The boundary line would naturally follow the course of the river, which hereabouts runs roughly from north to south; and Jeewaniyee is mentioned as a place in the Golconda state on the Bijapur frontier in a report on a fight between Golconda troops and combined Mughal and Bijapur forces in 1677, wherein it is called 'Giviny' (27 Fort St. George 24: *E.F.* II, Appendix to Madras, 1677).

[2] As to the manufacture of calicoes and muslins in the Golconda territory, see W. H. Moreland, *Relations of Golconda*, XVIII, XIX.

[3] The Golconda fort is situated on a rocky ridge of granite (*Imp. Gaz. Ind.*, XII, 309).

[4] Golconda was the original capital of the Kutb-Shahi dynasty. Bhāgnagar, or Hyderabad (as it was afterwards called) is 5 miles to the east of it, and was founded by Muhammad Quli in 1589 (*Imp. Gaz. Ind.*, XII, 309; XIII, 308).

[5] This may have been the suburb now known as Malakpur on the western outskirts of Hyderabad between it and Golconda (Sheet 56 K–7 and cf. p. 350 *post*).

courteously and showed great pleasure at seeing me. He made his excuses for not having been able to come to Bijapur to my assistance, when I sent for him at the height of my illness. It was then that I began to feel a sense of joy and gratitude towards God and the Holy Virgin for having given me strength to reach this place, as I could here enjoy the real pleasure of a Christian, in having a priest and a church to fill my soul with the celestial comfort that comes from the ministration of the Sacraments. I stayed some days in strict seclusion, partly for this purpose, and also to regain my strength and make plans for the rest of my journey to St. Thomé. After I had stayed six days in this house incognito, and without going outside, feeling a little stronger, I had myself carried in my palanquin, disguised as a Persian merchant, sometimes to Golconda and other times to Bhagnagar.

These are two powerful and opulent towns, half a league from one another, and the capitals of this rich kingdom of Golconda. The first, which gives its name to the kingdom, is called royal, as the king[1] generally lives here. It is situated partly in a valley and partly on the side of a high mountain, whose summit is covered with a large castle, precipitous on all sides, difficult of access, and commanding the town.[2] The whole place is enclosed within strong walls, which, on the side of the country, are almost all surrounded by large ditches, formerly full of water, but now half filled with mud, bog, and earth, dried by the heat of the sun. Many bastions face the side of the country, but these are more remarkable for their antiquity than for their strength, being now only an ornament to the walls, which are about a league in circumference, surrounding the town and mountain. Inside them lie only the king's palace and his magnificent seraglio, with the mansions of the princes and the houses of all the nobility and officers of the court.[3] It was a great pleasure and most interesting

[1] He was Abul Hasan Shah, who had succeeded his father-in-law, Abdullah Qutb Shah, on the latter's death on 21 April 1672 (O.S.): cf. Sarkar, *Aurangzib*, 269.

[2] The 'castle' on the summit was the king's palace (Bilgrami & Wilmott, *Sketch of Nizam's dominions*, II, 514).

[3] 'The Golconda fort is surrounded by a strong crenellated stone wall, over three miles in circumference, with 87 bastions at the angles. . . . Inside the walls are ruins of numerous palaces, mosques, and dwellings, scattered everywhere. . . . The moat which surrounds the fort is choked with rubbish in most places.' (*Imp. Gaz. Ind.*, XII, 309).

each morning to watch the pomp and magnificence of the princes and nobles of this place, who display their riches, jewels and precious stones, to excite the envy of the others. Some adorn their elephants; some the harness of their horses and their arms; while others decorate their palanquins with rich ornaments, and above all wear splendid clothes, which lend great brilliance to their assemblies. I avow that I passed some agreeable hours in watching all this splendour of the Golconda court; but even if I took a little pleasure in seeing all these fine things each morning, God knows what alarm and uneasiness I felt afterwards in the evening when I watched with anxious eyes the generals and other military officers issuing from the royal town, some to review and exercise their newly raised troops, and others to train the armoured elephants amidst the rattle and noise of arms, so as to accustom them to the art of war. I was terribly distressed when I heard people discussing with one another the departure of these troops in a short time for the siege of St. Thomé. It had lasted eight months through the marvellous courage of a nation that had newly arrived from Europe and was as yet unknown in this country, namely the French, who had already slain over 20,000 men of the army sent in vain by the King of Golconda to expel them.[1]

All these warlike preparations attracted many people, and I often found myself among foreign merchants, who (taking me for a Persian) approached me in their palanquins, like our carriages meet in the Cours la Reine [Queen's Drive].[2] As they gossiped about the king's affairs, I soon learnt all they knew about the court. Some told me that the king was very much against the continuation of the war, and wanted to come to terms and make a favourable peace with the French Viceroy; but that his plan and goodwill towards this European nation met with great opposition. This came first of all from the Nawab, intendant-general of the king's armies,[3] who had undertaken to recapture St. Thomé in

[1] Cf. p. 339 *n.*, and *n.* 2 at p. 354 *post.*

[2] The 'Cours la Reine' was a celebrated promenade in Paris, between the Place de la Concorde and that de l'Alma. It was created by Marie de Medicis in 1616, and her use of it quickly made it a fashionable promenade of high society (Larousse *du XXme siècle*, II, 539).

[3] The Nawab and commander-in-chief was one Musa Khan, who succeeded the former Nawab, Neknam Khan, on his death on 30 March 1672 (Love, I, 339, 348; F.R., 26 Fort St. George 26). St. Thomé was part of their domain as Nawabs of the Carnatic, cf. *n.* I at p. 480 *post.*

some way or other, no matter how, as it was the best piece of his own appanage. In the second place the Dutch, who had great credit at the court, worked hard for the continuance of the war.[1] They gave the king to understand that the French were short of money and men, and having no hope of any help from Europe, would be obliged to come to terms and surrender the town; while if they did not do this, the Dutch would bring all their forces from Batavia to blockade the place by sea, so as to cut off all communication, with no possibility of supplies or help, and thus force the French to treat or perish in the town. These (they said) were the reasons that induced the king to continue the war, for which all these preparations were being made. That is what I learnt through going to Golconda.

I also visited the large town of Bhagnagar, where I went about more freely, as it is a very spacious town, situated in flat country, watered by a fine river. It is so full of strangers and merchants that trade is carried on by foreigners and others without any restrictions as to their nationality or particular business. There is such a concourse of every kind of people, merchandise, and riches, that the place seems to be the centre of all trade in the East.[2]

After some days' stay incognito with this Portuguese Father, he told me that a Frenchman, married at Golconda to a Portuguese lady, was living quietly as a Catholic without any trouble from the court people, or even from the Nawab, who was our bitterest enemy; and that he was sometimes allowed to visit the French who were imprisoned here. The priest thought that I would be in no danger if I were to make myself known to this Frenchman, from whom I might get some assistance in my business. In spite of all the priest said, I could not bring myself to this, as it was rather dangerous to make my identity known. I certainly would not have done so, unless the occasion for it had arisen.

There were at this time several of our Frenchmen in the Golconda prisons, and among others two lately arrested, who de-

[1] News of the war by Holland against England and France had reached this side of India by December 1672 (p. 375 *post*), and for that and other reasons the Dutch naturally opposed the seizure of St. Thomé by the French.

[2] Martin (1, 263, 267–8) also described Bhagnagar as a great town of commerce, well populated, and full of merchandise from India, Persia, and Europe; courtiers of the king had residences there, and its streets were filled with a diversity of nations, and a confusion of carriages, carts, camels, elephants, horses, palanquins, etc.

clared themselves to be of good birth. They had, however, shown the contrary, as they had basely deserted our Viceroy in St. Thomé, in imitation of several others. These two, after escaping from a thousand dangers, reached Golconda. At first they stayed with the Portuguese Father, who received them in the most humane manner, and promised to keep them closely hidden for the three days' rest they wanted before going on to Goa, the refuge of all our deserters. These gentry, moved more by piety than by remorse at having betrayed their king, asked the Father on the day after their arrival to say a Mass for their intention; they also begged him for Masses during the following nine days, that they might arrive happily in Goa. Their prayers were harkened to according to the justice of their request, for hardly had this worthy man finished his Mass, when his servants came to tell him that the house was surrounded by soldiers and some Moor officers, who were intent on forcing an entry. The priest, not knowing the meaning of this, ran quickly to his door to see what they wanted. As soon as he appeared, an officer advanced and told him civilly that he had come, not to insult him or to make a disturbance at his house, but only to execute the king's orders, namely to seize the two Frenchmen who were there. The good priest did not dare go against the king's orders, so he asked the officer to wait a little, to which he agreed. The priest then ran quickly to the two Frenchmen and warned them that he could hide them no longer, for the Dutch had advised the king of their arrival at Bhagnagar, and at his orders men had surrounded the house to arrest them. These two gentlemen, seeing no means of escape, could do nothing but give themselves up. They left their money, two gold watches in cases, some silver plate marked with the crest of M. de Turelle,[1] and all their arms, with the priest for safe custody while they were in prison. They then went peaceably with the priest to the door of his house and, having surrendered to the Moors, followed them to Golconda. They were put into the state prison apart from the other Frenchmen, who had been imprisoned there a little time before them. They were treated very severely for the first few days, in order to make them disclose all that the Moors wanted to know. Upon their supporting the [Golconda] hope that the French would be compelled to abandon St. Thomé from

[1] Presumably he was M. de Turelle, commodore of de la Haye's fleet, who had died at Trincomalee in April 1672 (pp. 383, 425 *post*).

want of provisions, arms, money, or other assistance, they were afterwards put into a slightly larger prison, where the Frenchman, who had married at Golconda, was allowed to visit them and help them in several ways from outside.

These gentlemen were overjoyed at finding such a sure friend in the person of this Frenchman, whom they knew to be a deserter like themselves, but who had been more fortunate. They used to send him to the Portuguese priest, with whom I was staying, to get money to the extent required for their needs. The Frenchman, who had made several visits to the priest, came once while I was still undecided whether I should send for him or not. It is possible that I might not on this occasion have let him know who I was, had I not noticed the great unwillingness shown by the priest to give the money this young man wanted for his poor compatriots. Overhearing their dispute about this, I came up to them and addressed myself to the Frenchman. I asked him at first in Portuguese, which he spoke well, why he took such a deep interest in some wretched French, who were in the Golconda prisons. I had begged the Portuguese priest not to disclose my identity to anybody, whoever he might be. The young man, therefore, replied, without knowing who I was, 'Truly, sir, I have good reason to guard their interests, and would give the little I am worth to rescue all those imprisoned here in the greatest misery by people who threaten them with death, unless they regain their liberty by renouncing their Catholic religion and becoming Muhammadans.' 'If you are really impelled,' I replied, 'by charity or by religious reasons to help them so much, you doubtless merit great glory before God; nevertheless I do not see that you gain much honour in working so earnestly for people who have deserted their king and country in such a cowardly way. They themselves dug the pit in which they now are, and they well deserve it owing to their cowardice and desertion.' The poor young man knew that he was just as guilty as the others; and he did not dare to say he was French, thinking that I was unaware of it. 'But,' I continued, 'I have been told that there was a Frenchman free in Golconda, who is married to a Portuguese. I should much like to see him privately, as I have some things I wish to communicate. I believe that this good priest here knows him, and can arrange a meeting.' The poor man was so embarrassed that he did not know how to reply. The priest, who was listening to our

conversation, which was in Portuguese, kept looking at me fixedly without saying a word, so surprised and astonished was he at the questions I was asking this Frenchman; but the latter remained silent, as if stupefied. 'What!' said the priest to him, 'have you forgotten your mother tongue already? Why don't you speak French to this gentleman. He will understand you quite well, and can reply to all the questions you put to him.' 'By God, sir,' he replied in French, 'if you know our tongue, you must have been in France, and I am amazed that you hate the French as much as you do.' 'You are wrong,' I retorted in his own tongue, 'to accuse me of a thing that is so far from my thoughts. I would give my life to save any honest person of my nation. But you cannot deny that I am right in blaming these gentlemen whose misfortunes are their own fault.' 'What,' he said astonished, 'your nation! you are French then?' 'Yes,' I replied, 'I am, and I will never forget by any action the honour and glory, which I have, as well as yourself, of being born a subject of the greatest king in the world. It is much more glorious and honourable to serve him than to become vagabonds and miserable creatures among heathen and idolatrous princes and Muhammadans, like most of our French are doing today all over India.' 'But,' I continued, 'we did not meet here for that, and I do not pretend to accuse you when I speak in this way. I wish you to know that I am a greater friend to the French than you think, and that the misery and slavery in which they are here touches me much more than it does you.'

So saying, I rose and entered my room, and throwing myself on my bed, I made the young man sit by me. I asked him why the Portuguese priest refused his demands: he began at once to tell me all the story of these two gentlemen of whom I have just written. He said that every time he came to this Portuguese Father, he had the utmost difficulty in getting anything out of his hands for the upkeep and necessities of these prisoners. 'Do not trouble yourself any more,' I told him; 'since the Father makes so many difficulties about surrendering what your friends have deposited with him, I will arrange that you shall have no more trouble in getting what is necessary for the comfort of these poor Frenchmen. I know a sure means of taking all their affairs out of the hands of this priest, and placing them in yours to administer according to their wishes. But,' I said to him, 'now that we are alone, pray tell me how you got here. How is it that you were more fortunate than the other

Frenchmen? Why are you left at liberty and untroubled, for you, like the others, deserted from the Viceroy's fleet?' 'Yes, sir,' he replied, 'like them, I was in the royal fleet, but there is a great difference in the time and manner in which we came to Golconda. I arrived here two months before the rest, at a time when no one here knew anything yet about the French; whereas the others came at a time when the whole kingdom was at war and in arms against our nation.' 'But,' I said, 'how does it happen that you were here before the French took St. Thomé? Our fleet was then at sea or at Ceylon whence it was not possible to escape and come by land hither.' 'It is quite true,' he replied, 'that all our fleet was at Ceylon in the Bay of Trincomalee, where our Viceroy was building a fort for its defence. During that time he sent three ships to the adjacent Coromandel coast to get provisions. These were the *Phoenix*, the *Europe*, and a hooker[1] belonging to the Company. The *Phoenix* (commanded from France as far as Madagascar by a captain of the Company, who died there and was succeeded by M. de la Meyrinnière, formerly lieutenant of the royal ship *Flamand*) was sent to Porto Novo, a dependency of the King of Bijapur, for provisions and other stores. The royal ship *Europe*, commanded by M. Dupré, went to Tranguebarre [Tranquebar], a Danish port and factory,[2] while the hooker under M. Chanlatte, in which I was, went to Madras, an English place. The Dutch,' he continued, 'had not dared to attack our French up to then, but had assembled all their Indian forces at Ceylon. Hearing that these three ships had gone to the Coromandel coast for provisions and munitions, they thought they could best injure the French by seizing them and preventing the entry of any help at Trincomalee. They, therefore, sent all their fleet to anchor at the mouth of the Bay, and await the return of the French ships.

'The *Phoenix* was the first to arrive and saw the Dutch ships in the entrance. Her commander had not the sense to go about and escape to sea, where the Dutch would not have followed him, as

[1] MS. *houcre*. Its translation as 'hooker' is, therefore, correct, though the latter word has now acquired a scornful sense that was absent in the seventeenth century. The hooker's name was the *St. Louis*, see p. 404 *post*.

[2] Martin (1, 330) reverses this, saying that the *Phoenix*, commanded by Sieur de la Melinière, was to go to Tranquebar, and the *Europe* to Porto Novo. Tranquebar lies 143 miles south-south-west of Madras. The Danes settled there in 1621 (*E.F.*, 1618–21, 254*n*, 255). For its later history see *Imp. Gaz. Ind.*, XXIII, 434.

their plan was only to prevent the arrival of provisions in the Bay of Trincomalee, of which they claimed to be owners. The *Phoenix*, accordingly continuing her course into the Bay, was met by two Dutch frigates, who ordered the captain to strike sail and surrender. The latter wished to fight the Dutch, but was prevented from doing so by M. d'Armes, the infantry captain on board, who declared that he had received orders to do nothing, if they met the Dutch.[1] This was the ill-conceived idea of M. the director-general Caron, who always forbad any quarrel with the Dutch. Thus the ship was taken by the Dutch without a shot being fired on either side, and brought into a bay a little above Trincomalee, where they had a small fort and a factory. The Dutch had not yet received any news of the war with France in Europe, so they treated the French vessel in a very friendly way. They allowed everyone to land all his belongings, so that the French officers, besides what they had of their own, shared the King's money and the best moveables they could find in the ship. The French were distributed, some among the Dutch ships which were in the Bay, and others on land with reasonable liberty. A guard was set in the French vessel, and nothing was then removed until an inventory had been made of all that was on board. That is what happened to the *Phoenix*, which was taken in view of all our ships then at Trincomalee.

'The *Europe* was still at Tranquebar, when the news came of this loss. The French were warned from many sides to take care to avoid the Dutch fleet on their return. The captain and officers, however, did not let these warnings worry them. They were passing a most pleasant time and, when weary of the Danes and their factory, went frequently to Negapatan [Negapatam][2] to divert themselves with the Dutch, who had a fort there. These were delighted to entertain our French, while they sent a small ship to their fleet to inform it of the time the French ship would leave for Trincomalee. It would appear that this coup was arranged between the ship's officers and the Dutch, for, after leaving

[1] On the other hand Martin (I, 330, 346–7) says that M. Darmes, who commanded a company of infantry on board the ship, put his men in a position to fight, but failed to get orders from the captain to do so. He puts the main blame on de la Haye, who had given no orders to the captain as to what he was to do, if he was attacked by the Dutch.

[2] Negapatam is a port about 20 miles south of Tranquebar. It was taken by the Dutch in 1660 (*E.F.*, 1655–60, 176–7).

Tranquebar for the return voyage, as soon as she saw the Dutch fleet she went straight towards it to surrender, without lowering her sails, and she was escorted right into the Dutch bay alongside the *Phoenix*.[1] Our hooker alone remained, and having taken her cargo on board, we left Madras without knowing of the capture of the two other ships. One morning, when we arrived in sight of Trincomalee, we saw the Dutch fleet in the distance. We thought at first it was our ships that had come out to meet us and the two others which had gone for provisions; but some hours after, as we got nearer them, we were amazed to see the Dutch flag at their masthead, while two of them were already preparing to attack us. Our captain at once went about and with the help of a favourable wind made for Madras under all sails. He decided to stay there until he received trustworthy news of what was occurring at Trincomalee.[2]

'Some days after our return to Madras we were surprised to encounter two Frenchmen from our fleet. They told us they had escaped in Ceylon from the Dutch, who had taken them prisoners after the capture of two of our ships, in the manner just described, and that they had been fortunate enough to find a local vessel, which was crossing to the mainland and in which they escaped, and were setting off to seek their fortune among the Moors and Hindus. This news so terrified the crew of our little

[1] This alleged conspiracy hardly fits in with dates of the capture of the two ships given by Kaeppelin (p. 93), apparently on the authority of a report by Carré, viz. the *Phoenix* on 31 May 1672, and the *Europe* on 2 June. As Trincomalee is over 150 miles from Tranquebar, the news of the capture of the *Phoenix* could scarcely have reached that place before the *Europe* left in time to be at Trincomalee on 2 June. Martin (1, 347) gives 5 June as the date of the *Europe's* capture; this makes the suggestion of a conspiracy possible, but according to him and Delestre (105, 134), the *Europe* went to Porto Novo, which is about 35 miles above Tranquebar. Cf. also pp. 408–10 *post*, as to the seizure of these two ships.

[2] The general truth of this account (apart from the points dealt with in two preceding notes) is corroborated by both Martin's *Mémoires* and a report made by the Governor and his Council at Madras on 16 December 1672 (F.R., O.C. 3720). The latter says that 'a small French pink' arrived at Madras from Trincomalee on 8 April (O.S., i.e. 18 April N.S.) to get provisions for de la Haye's fleet there; that the *Phoenix* and the *Europe* were similarly sent to Tranquebar, and were both intercepted by the Dutch; and that the third, 'seeing two French [*sic*? Dutch] shipps make after her from the said Bay [of Trincomalee], durst not trust them, but stood away again for this road'. Martin (1, 348) says the hooker escaped on 13 June.

vessel that our captain feared they would all desert. To prevent this, he forbad anyone to go ashore, so, seeing our liberty taken away, we believed that we also would be led into the clutches of the Dutch. This obliged each of us to think of a means of escape. Six of us comrades joined together and resolved to get away: so one night we got noiselessly into the longboat which was fastened to our stern. We let it float away, and when far enough from the ship not to be heard, we rowed to land and abandoned it on the sand. We walked all night across fields without knowing where we were going, as we had no acquaintance with this country. Next day we found ourselves in a village, the inhabitants of which had never heard of the French; so we were taken for Portuguese from Madras or St. Thomé. Fortunately one of our band knew a few words of the language, which enabled us to ask for our necessities. After having taken some provisions there, we enquired the way to Golconda, where we had planned to seek our fortune. We marched for eight days, hardly knowing where we were going or what we wished to do; also we were rather weak in our finances, and we were not accustomed to the excessive heat in this burning country-side. Our courage to continue on our way began to fail, so that dissensions arose amongst us. A thousand times we cursed the hour in which we had undertaken this fine plan. Finally each one wanted to have his own way, which is the usual thing in our nation; so some stayed in villages among Hindus, not understanding a single word of what they said, while others went off by different routes. I was, therefore, the only one who wanted to carry out our first design, to go to Golconda. I got there at last, but after such trouble, sweat, and toil, that I frequently thought I should perish on the way.

'As soon as I arrived there, I went to some Christian Portuguese topasses [Indo-Portuguese soldiers], who received me fairly well. I also often visited two old Portuguese priests, who each had a church here, and of whom this one is the chief. They married me to a Portuguese Christian, with whom I am living happily, and I am not troubled either for my religion or my liberty. I walk everywhere, as you see, dressed as a Frenchman, without interference from anyone. After living this peaceful life for some time, without worrying myself either about my country or my countrymen, I was much surprised to hear a rumour all over the town that the French had taken St. Thomé, also that the king [of Gol-

conda] at the same time had ordered all his standing troops to go as quickly as possible to St. Thomé, to which over 50,000 soldiers have been sent since the beginning of the siege up to now. They have not, however, been able to do anything, and the whole kingdom was, therefore, thrown into such consternation that the court was at a loss to know what action to take against the French, who were spoken of as the greatest and most warlike men ever heard of. This was the cause of the arrest of every passing Frenchman since the war began, and there were already eight in prison. They were on the point of being beheaded because of misconduct after having taken employment in the cavalry with a good upkeep and turn-out. As soon, however, as they knew it was intended to send them to the siege of St. Thomé against their own nation, they refused to commit this last infamy of taking up arms against their Viceroy, and conspired among themselves to steal away from the kingdom; but the Moors, having got wind of this plot, put them back into their dungeons and killed two of them to terrify the others. Since then they have been kept in prison and so strictly guarded that no stranger could see them. I was allowed to visit and help only the two last Frenchmen who were arrested at this Father's house. If you can' he continued 'do as you suggest and take over all the things that they deposited with him, I affirm you will be doing them a signal service, for they are now in the depths of misery.'

I then let him know who I was and enjoined him not to reveal my identity, even to the Portuguese here. I gave him some money to buy what was needed for these Frenchmen, and told him to go at once and ask them whether they wished to sell all the things that were in the priest's possession; if so they should send a list of them and their value to a person [myself], without saying who I was, and he would remit the money to anyone they wished. The young man was overjoyed at having met me and did not know how to show his thanks sufficiently. He offered me his services and asked permission to bring his wife to see me, which would please her very much, as she had never seen any Frenchman but himself.

On leaving me he went straight to see the two prisoners, who were delighted at my suggestion to give them the value of their belongings in money, and urged the young man to be sure to return next morning for their receipt to be given to the priest. That evening, while I was alone with the latter, I told him that I

had learnt from this young Frenchman, during his long talk with me, that the two Frenchmen, who had been arrested in his house, had left some valuable belongings in his care. I begged him to let me see them, to which he willingly consented, not knowing my intention of taking them out of his hands. He at once sent for a small chest, out of which he took two watches in gold cases, two cups, spoons, and forks, all silver-gilt, two pairs of pistols, and other small valuables. He also showed me the list they had signed, and said that the cash left with him had nearly all been spent on their needs since their arrest.

The young Frenchman came next morning so sad and downhearted that I knew some disaster had occurred since he left me. I earnestly asked him what had happened to cause this change. 'Alas! sir,' he said in a voice which roused my pity, 'what a misfortune has happened! Yesterday, on leaving you, I went to the two gentlemen, who showed great joy at your offer, and made me promise to return today for the receipt. But when I went there at dawn, I was told that I could not see them again, that they had been flung into dungeons, loaded with fetters, and that they were to die with all the other French under the most cruel tortures that could be devised.' 'But,' said I, 'did they not tell you the reason? Did you not try to know what crime they have committed since yesterday?' 'To tell you the truth,' he replied, 'I was so surprised and shocked to hear they were to die that I went home hardly knowing what I was doing or where I was going. And when I was thinking of coming again to you with this sad news, four or five Portuguese entered my house in a terrified state, and told me that the king was very distressed, all the court in great consternation, and the Nawab in such a rage that no one could go near him, because of news received last night about the siege of St. Thomé. It was reported that the French Viceroy had made a sortie with all his forces, in which Montel [Mandala] Naik, the general of the Moor army, had been slain, all the artillery had been taken, and a large gun carrying 120 pounds of shot had been blown up; also over 10,000 Moors had been cut in pieces, and the rest of their army driven from the trenches, so that the French had gained all the siege-works, on which over 60,000 men had been engaged for the last eight months.[1] After such a fatal loss it was felt that noth-

[1] This sortie, and a further advance the next day, took place on 9 and 10 March (N.S.), corresponding to 27 and 28 February (O.S.) 1673; see Love,

ing more could be done against St. Thomé.' 'Ah, God!' I cried, 'this is indeed good news. What! you are French, and yet you are dumbfounded and distressed at the most glorious event that could have happened to us in this country. Why! do you prefer the lives of two or three deserters to those of our brave and victorious soldiers in St. Thomé? You are more concerned over the unhappiness and misfortune of these miserable Frenchmen than for the glory of our noble king and our nation's renown! For myself, I likewise pity these poor men, if they are put to death, though they receive only the punishment they deserve. And I tell you frankly that, when I hear of our nation's redoubtable exploits in this far-off country, my pleasure and satisfaction surpass every other feeling in my heart.' However, this young man was more concerned with the misery of the prisoners than with our glory and honour. He was impatient to get news of them as soon as possible, so returned to the prison, after I had given him orders to get some provisions prepared for my journey as quickly as he could.

Nothing else was spoken of during the next few days in every part of the town but the French at St. Thomé, though the very name of 'French' terrified those who recounted their deeds. All the great preparations that had been made went for nothing, as no one wished to take up arms when they heard they were to be sent against the French. Everyone cried that it was absolutely necessary to make peace and to show friendship and goodwill towards this most warlike nation. I was overjoyed to see that people on all sides spoke only of the glorious deeds and the renown of the French. This made me very impatient to get to St. Thomé and to share a little in the honour and glory that our Viceroy had gained by his victories and splendid defence of this conquered place. I now felt a little stronger and able to stand the fatigues of a journey, so I begged my old Portuguese priest to find me some reliable and

I, 324–5; Kaeppelin, 101, and cf. pp. 497-503, 505 *post*. Delestre (p. 178) mentions the taking of the large gun, whose capacity he gives as 108 pounds of shot: the date when it was blown up was, however, 23 Feb. (N.S.) 1673 (p. 495 *post*). The figures given for the Moor army and its losses, viz. 60,000 and 10,000 respectively, seem to be clearly exaggerated. According to Delestre (pp. 177–8) the army consisted of 16,000 foot and 4,000 horse; while Kaeppelin (p. 99) gives the total as 12,000. As to the number of Moors killed in this fight, Martin (I, 422) estimates this at over 100, and Langhorn, the Madras governor, at 145 (F.R., 17 Fort St. George, 12).

well-known people to carry my palanquin and my baggage. This good old man had been delighted to have me in his house, so he did all he could to persuade me to stay a little longer. He tried to frighten me by retailing the dangers from soldiers, thieves, and even from the Dutch, who had their spies everywhere on the road: they had arrested many more French than the Moors had. But all these arguments could not deter my departure even for a day.

There was a more dangerous possibility, which troubled me greatly, to wit, that I could not leave this place without disclosing my identity to either the Moors or the Dutch, for all the commerce and business of this town are in the hands of these two classes, and no one could either enter or leave without a pass from the Dutch or a permit from the kotwal [police-superintendent], the Moor official for the receipt of transit-duties from travellers. I was aware that, as we were equally enemies of both nations, I could not expect better treatment from the one side than from the other; and I really did not know how to extricate myself from this predicament. The Portuguese priest, however, was very friendly with the Dutch; so I determined to beg him to go and see them with my compliments, and explain that the state of my health on arrival had prevented me from visiting them; also he was to say that I was a French missionary, who had no connection with those at St. Thomé, or any others in India; further that I had fallen ill at Bijapur on my journey to my mission, and would they kindly favour me with a passport to go to Masulipatam, where I would find a ship for Siam, that being my destination.

The visit of the priest was a marvellous success. The same day they sent one of their officers, Signor[1] Nic[o]las Bolch [Bolk], to see me. He brought me some bottles of Spanish wine and other little delicacies, which came in very usefully for my journey. This Dutchman told me he had come from their commandant to offer me the use of their house and any service I might desire from him. After some general conversation we touched on the affairs of the French at St. Thomé. The Dutchman drew a paper from his pocket, in which were the names of the two Frenchmen recently imprisoned. 'There,' he said, showing it to me, 'are the names of

[1] MS. *le sieur*, but here, and elsewhere in such cases, 'Signor' (or its abbreviation 'Sr.') is used, as it was customary then for the English to give this title to Dutch and other foreign European officials in India, cf. *S.M.*, I, 297*n*.

two Frenchmen for whose deliverance I am working unceasingly. An important person at court promised to procure their release, which he would no doubt have done, had they not, two days ago, received the bad news of the entire defeat of their arms before St. Thomé. Since then all we have succeeded in obtaining is the promise that they will not die by torture, as previously arranged. It has grieved me very much,' he continued, 'to see so many brave, fine men like these reduced to such misery among the Moors, who are without compassion. This has obliged us to post people in several places on the roads to bring us all the French they find, who are daily deserting in troops from St. Thomé. Once in this country, they do not know where to lay their heads, because of their ignorance of the customs or the language. So it is really a great charity for us to take them, and send them afterwards to Paillicatte [Pulicat] in our Company's service, where they have the same wages and food as our own soldiers.' He told me all these things as if to a man who knew nothing of their government, or of the slavery that existed among them, or of their extreme need of Europeans to maintain their great power in India. Nevertheless I thanked him as best I could for the civility of their chief, Signor Arsem [Hartsing], and for the trouble he had himself taken in coming nearly one league to see me. I also said I much regretted that my ill-health prevented me from visiting their chief. I now at last felt safe about what I most feared, and thought only of leaving as soon as possible. I sent for my young Frenchman, who had been working hard to get me all that was necessary and useful for the journey. He had a vivid recollection of the difficulties and hardships he had himself suffered on those roads.

During my stay with this priest a young Portuguese arrived from Goa. He was as much surprised to meet me as I was to see him. I asked him at his first visit to me, what could have induced him to come to this place, and why he had left the service where I had seen him in the flag-ship of the fleet from Goa, for I then thought that he would soon rise to a better post than that of a simple soldier, as he was when I met him in Persia eight months ago. 'Truly,' he replied, 'I am now going to enjoy a better fortune than that of a soldier. There is a very rich and powerful Portuguese gentleman of Madras, who has sent for me to marry his lovely young daughter: she will probably inherit all his wealth.' 'So, then,' I said, 'you are going to be a great merchant and trader in

the East, to improve the estate of the lovely lady you are to marry?' 'By God!' he cried, 'you little know the customs of the great Portuguese in India. If this Senhor Lucq Louis'[1]—which was the name of the prospective father-in-law—'knew that I had any inclination towards commerce, I should never marry his daughter, so that, far from doing any work, I shall have no other occupation but to lead the life of a fidalgo—to go out well dressed, followed by a fine troop of slaves, always under a sumbreiro [umbrella], or sitting in a palanquin; to pass my time in gaming or visiting the best and most important people in Madras; in fine to lead a licentious and pleasant life—that,' he said, 'is the trade and commerce I shall be engaged in. Do you not think, then, I was right to leave the army in order to be happy all the rest of my life?' 'No doubt,' I replied, 'there is some pleasure in being so fortunate, and there are many Europeans in this oriental country who would gladly leave their positions and employments, even though more honourable than they had a right to expect, for the happy condition to which you have been called.'

This fine Portuguese wished to lodge with the priest, where I was; but the good old man, not being accustomed to take people who were travelling, like this man, with such a meagre following, found him a little room near our house, where he stayed three days to rest, with his equipage. It consisted of a poor Canarin [Kanarese], who acted as guide, a little black boy, and for his mount a bullock, on which was perched a little black girl-slave, about twelve years old. This man with his wonderful turn-out wished to finish his journey in my company, but I knew that this type of person was quite capable of undoing me, or of creating disorders on the road. I dismissed him civilly and gave him to understand that I was going to Masulipatam *en route* for Siam; there I would join one of our French bishops who are missionaries there. Consequently my Portuguese, having quite lost the idea

[1] Lucq Louis (who is mentioned again at p. 364 *post*) must have been Lucas Luis de Oliveira, who was a leading Portuguese merchant at Madras. Thus in 1678 he presented a petition to the Governor and Council on behalf of the Portuguese inhabitants (some 40 of whom had signed it), asking for mercy to be shown to Manoel de Lima, who had been convicted of murder (M.R., 1678–9, 165–6; Love, I, 406–7). He had a house in White Town, and in 1681 was given a militia command (Love, I, 432–3, 443–4). In 1687 he was appointed one of the first twelve aldermen in the Court of the Mayor and Corporation (ibid. 497–8).

that I wanted to go towards St. Thomé, left Golconda three days before I did.

Saturday, 25 March. The day of the Annunciation.

After praying at the church of the Portuguese Father, I left Millapour and reached Bhagnagar, where I stopped at the Dutch factory to get my permit for the journey. Before leaving the priest's house I had managed to get rid of the gentleman from Goa, of whom I have just spoken; but I could not avoid another person, whom the priest implored me to take with me to Madras. He was a Canarin Christian, the issue of a noble Portuguese family,[1] whose equipage consisted of a horse worth about four écus, a guitar, a coat like that of a college usher, no shoes nor stockings, and nothing to cover his head. Pure compassion compelled me to tell my servants to get out one of my hats, which I carried in a case. I had to lend it to this oddity, and was obliged to wait three more days on his account, as what follows will show.

As he had a horse, I gave him a part of my provisions and some heavy baggage to relieve my own carriers, and in leaving I bade him always to follow my palanquin closely in the town, as I feared he would lose his way among the enormous crowds in the streets. We left the priest's house together, and we thought he was following us; but this great idiot, when he entered the town, was so overcome with confusion at the number of people, the like of which he had never seen before, that, instead of keeping my palanquin in sight, he thought only of the marvellous things he saw on all sides. His horse carried him off to the middle of the town, where the crowds so jostled him and his horse about that he did not know in what direction to turn. Finally he met some horses and pack-bullocks, and followed them until at one of the exits from the town he was stopped by the customs-officers to give an account of himself. The Canarin was so terrified at being questioned by five or six peons, each of whom carried a sword, as to who he was and where he was going, that, not understanding their language and so not knowing what they wanted, he threw

[1] In addition to the use of 'Canarin' for an inhabitant of Kanara (vol. I p. 169, *n.* 1), the Portuguese in India applied it to the Konkani people of Goa and their language (*Hobson-Jobson*, 154; Manucci, IV. 422–3). The term (as shown by Carré's statement above, and by the citation in *Hobson-Jobson* from Owen's *Narrative*) also covered the Creole Portuguese of Goa and their other Indian settlements.

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himself off his horse and, without even picking up his hat, which had fallen off his head, dashed away like a man who had committed a crime. The customs-officers did not know what to make of his unreasonable fright, so they led the horse, with all its load and his topi [MS. *Topy chapeau*], to the customs-house. They then informed the kotwal in charge of these dues, who was much astonished and suspected something hidden in the affair. He, therefore, gave orders that this Frank should be found, and all his baggage brought to his house.

While this was taking place, I arrived at the Dutch factory without worrying myself about this miserable Canarin, thinking he was with my servants. The chief, Sr. Arsem [Hartsing], received me very civilly, and said a thousand polite things about the war between our two nations; that it was the concern only of the two governments, but that we others who were in this foreign country must take a long view of it, and that he could declare his sentiments to a person like myself. These were that he wished earnestly for every opportunity of showing the goodwill and friendship he felt towards our nation, for he was on the point of finishing his term of service, and would be thankful to retire with his savings to his province, which was now under the King of France,[1] and live there in peace for the rest of his days. He could not hope for this among those of his own nation, as they never recall to Holland any of those officers who are chiefs and hold the senior posts of their Company in the Indies, and who, with their knowledge and experience, are the mainstay and pillars of its affairs. They are, therefore, obliged to pass all their life in one employment or another, where they no doubt become very rich and powerful; but they are not contented or happy, because not only does the Company enrich itself with their spoils, but they are also largely deprived of their wives, their children, and the joy of living in their own country, which is wealth far sweeter and more agreeable than all the treasures of the Indies.[2]

[1] In the summer of 1672 the French conquered a large part of Holland between Nijmegen and Utrecht, which may have included the province in question (*C.M.H.*, v, 43, 160). Hartsing, however, remained in the service of the Dutch East India Company in India till at least 1685 (*S.M.*, II, 94*n*); and he did not retire to Holland till 1690 (Havart, pt. II. 173).

[2] Carré's marginal note here says 'the Dutch never retire their old officers in the Indies'. This seems too wide a statement; but there were restrictions which

Commandant Hartsing, seeing I was still feeble and delicate, advised me strongly not to start on my journey so soon, and kindly invited me to stay some days in their house, where I could be treated by a very clever Hindu doctor, saying that they all had received much benefit from his care in the illnesses from which they had suffered for some time in that factory. He reproached me in a friendly way for going to lodge with the Portuguese priest in my bad state of health on my arrival at Golconda, as he well knew that I could not have got much relief there, owing to the priest's mode of living and attitude towards strangers and Christians who generally stopped in his house. 'I would certainly have had much more pleasure,' he said, 'in entertaining a person like you than I had in the case of a little French doctor, who honoured us with over a month's visit. He was treated as if he was an officer of our Company, and we tried all we could to help him in the small business which brought him from Goa with a Portuguese called Diogo Martin. They left us only three weeks ago to return to Goa.' 'I know that doctor very well,' I said; 'he is M. Seguineo. He has been fortunate in getting so much courtesy and hospitality from you, for his business only took him to Golconda, whereas I, though sick and feeble, cannot stay even a little while without prejudice to my affairs in Siam. I will not be able to get there for a long time, if I miss the chance of two ships belonging to the King of Siam, which I hope to find at Masulipatam.' 'No, no,' replied the commandant: 'if that is all the trouble, you can stay here a good while for rest and treatment. We get news daily from Masulipatam, which is only eight days off.[1] Those ships from Siam have only just arrived with elephants and rich presents

may have been regarded as justifying it in practice. Thus a servant of the Dutch Company was not permitted to return home, until he had completed 15 years' residence abroad (*E.F.*, I, 38). And even after a soldier or civilian in its service retired, he was apparently not encouraged to go home: permission to buy land at the Cape was the reward of ten or twelve years' service, and should the settler ultimately desire to return thence to Europe, he might not sell his estate, which was forfeited to the Company (C. E. Fayle, *Voyages to the East Indies*. The Seafarers' Library, introduction, xxix).

[1] The distance from Golconda to Masulipatam is about 210 miles, and as most of the journey is easy going, could be done in eight days (cf. Tavernier, *Travels*, I, 139 and *S.M.*, II, 178). But Methwold, who puts the distance at 252 miles, says it is 'in the common course of travel' ten days' journey (W. H. Moreland, *Relations of Golconda*, p. 8).

for the court of Golconda from the King of Siam.[1] There will be a magnificent presentation ceremony here which you will be glad to see. Afterwards, when you have regained your strength, you can take the opportunity of travelling to Masulipatam with the Siamese ambassadors, on their return there; but you may possibly have a long wait, as those two ships ordinarily do not go back to Siam till about August or September.[2] It may do you great harm to arrive sooner in your present state, for Masulipatam is situated in a very unhealthy spot, being surrounded by tanks and marshes, while the air is very bad. If, however,' he continued, 'you do not want to stay here all the time, you would do better to pass two or three months at Madras or St. Thomé, both good places, where you would regain your health in a very short time.'

Notwithstanding all the courtesy and kind offers of the commandant, I could not rid myself of a terrible suspicion that, knowing him to be a clever man, all these advantageous and civil suggestions were only to discover something of my business and plans. I was, therefore, compelled to give an effective reply to his last words. I told him that I had no wish to thrust myself into the turmoil of St. Thomé among the French, who breathed nothing but blood and battles, to which I had a great aversion, my whole disposition being against the cruelty of war. As to going to Madras, it would take me over twenty days on very bad roads[3] to get there, and I could hardly stand the fatigue of such a journey in my present state; instead of which I was only seven or eight days' journey away from the place to which I wished to go. I, therefore, said I should be infinitely obliged if he would give me my passport, so that my departure might not be delayed any longer. 'What!' he cried, 'you will not even stay three or four days more with us?' 'No,' I replied, 'because I have the idea that country air will be better for me than that of this town, which I dislike extremely.' Then the commandant called one of his officers and

[1] There was a considerable trade with Siam from Masulipatam and other Golconda ports, and doubtless the embassy had come to congratulate the new King Abul Hasan on his accession to the throne.

[2] Cf. Methwold and Schorer (*Relations of Golconda*, pp. 37, 61, 64) as to ships usually sailing from Masulipatam for ports in Burma and Sumatra in September, as the monsoon or trade wind then became favourable for such a voyage.

[3] Madras was over 300 miles from Golconda, and the route followed by Carré contained (as will be seen later) some rough going. Actually the journey took him from 28 March to 14 April, i.e. 18 days.

told him to make a list of my servants and coolies on a paper, which he sent to the kotwal for signature, so that I might pass as belonging to the Dutch Company.

The kotwal had not, as yet, been able to find the man who had abandoned his horse and baggage, which were still at that officer's house. He refused to sign this order, or to let anything enter or leave the Dutch factory until they explained why this man, dressed like a Frank, had fled when questioned at the town gate, leaving his horse laden with baggage, also a topi [European hat]. The Dutch officer returned with the kotwal's reply. The Dutch chief was astonished at the story of the Frank and his horse, as he had heard nothing about the matter. He was, however, much annoyed at the kotwal's refusal to sign the paper, regarding this as a piece of insolence on the part of the kotwal, who had a deep grudge against the Dutch for having deprived him of the chief profit from his post.[1] An aggravating episode was the arrival this same day of three Dutch officers, bringing merchandise from Masulipatam, who had been arrested at the town gate on the order of this kotwal. The commandant, wishing to get satisfaction for all these things, begged me to be patient and stay a couple of days longer, until he received a reply from the King of Golconda, to whom he sent an officer at once to complain about the kotwal, and to demand justice for these insults and refusals, contrary to the Dutch rights and privileges. Accordingly, I found it absolutely necessary to stay with these Dutchmen, from whom I received good treatment and a thousand courtesies.

In the evening I ordered my servants to bring all my baggage to my room. They noticed that several things were missing, and then remembered that they had packed them that morning on the horse of the Canarin. They came to tell me that this man had not appeared since we had entered Bhagnagar, and they did not know what had become of him and my belongings. I then remembered the kotwal's message to the commandant, and I had no doubt that it was this horse with my belongings that had been seized. I therefore begged the Dutchman to send one of his peons to the kotwal to see if it was really my baggage, and gave him certain marks by which he would know it. The commandant at once sent two of his men to the kotwal, and ordered the latter to dispatch the horse and all its load at once to the Company's house, inform-

[1] For their exemption from payment of customs at Golconda, cf. p. 349 *post*.

ing him that, if anything was missing, he would have to pay double its value. The kotwal had heard that the Dutch had sent a complaint about him to the court, so he no sooner learnt that these two peons had come to demand the horse than he sent it back with its baggage. Not a single thing was missing, and I thanked the commandant very civilly.

Our Canarin was discovered next day with a band of fakirs, who had taken off his Frankish clothes and made him dress as they did. He was promenading in this fashion in the streets, when one of my men recognised him. He was brought dressed in this style before me, and I was so disgusted that I did not wish to see any more of him. I told my men to give him back his horse, and send him off with his fakirs.

In the two following days I realised that the Dutch were not trying to deceive or entrap me. They showed every sign of courtesy and friendship, and gave me all I wanted in the most obliging manner. Nothing could be better or more sumptuously managed than their factory here. Sr. Guillelme Arsem was the Chief, Sr. Jean Niandal [Jan van Nyendaal] the second in command, Sr. Niclas Bolch [Nicolaas Bolk] the house-superintendent,[1] and there were many other junior officers. The factory is placed in the best part of Bhagnagar. They have a large and convenient house with several fine apartments, large warehouses, good courtyards, and clean stables, where they have some twenty valuable horses. It is embellished with a splendid kitchen-garden, irrigated by channels leading from two large reservoirs, which furnish the house with good water by lead pipes throughout the building. The commandant, who has beautified all this place, told me that it had cost the Company a million to construct, including presents to get permission to bring this water, which was the best in the town, four leagues by underground channels. Besides this they have a lovely garden outside the town for walks and recreation.[2] They

[1] 'Guillaume' before 'Arsem' clearly identifies him as Willem Carel Hartsing, or Hartsink, who was chief at Golconda from 1663 to 1677 (see Valentijn, v, 15, 35). Van Nyendaal was the chief there from 1677 to 1682 (ibid. v, 35). Bolk was at Golconda from 1670 to 1675 (Havart, pt. II, 35, 180).

[2] Carré says the water-pipes, etc., cost 'one million' without specifying what currency is meant. If it is écus, as in a following sentence, this (at 4*s*. 6*d*. an écu) would amount to a sum of £225,000, which seems too much for those times, even allowing for his proneness to exaggeration. It seems more probable that francs or livres are intended: at 1*s*. 6*d*. each (Tavernier, *Travels*, I, 327) we

pay 400,000 écus yearly to the King of Golconda to import and export all kinds of merchandise and to trade as they like, without paying customs, together with other honourable privileges which they enjoy in every port, town, or other part of this kingdom.[1] It cannot be denied that they are the best governed nation today in India, and conduct most ably any commerce they undertake. This has made them so proud and exalted that they are disinclined to bend to any power in the world. This will eventually lead to their total ruin, for their arrogance has reached such a pitch that they are hated by all other nations.[2]

get £75,000. Gulden at 1*s.* 9*d.* each (ibid. 328) give much the same result, viz. £87,500; but if he had meant Dutch money, he would probably have specified it. The erection of the Dutch factory at Bhagnagar was started in 1661 (Valentijn, v, 33). The only other description of it given by a traveller in the seventeenth century that we have traced is by the Spanish priest Navarette, who (Churchill's *Voyages,* i, 313–4) merely says that they had 'a fine palace there, richly furnished', and that he was shown their 'orchards, gardens, and a stately bath'. A fuller account, with a plan of the factory, is given by Dr. Havart (pt. II, 92–3, 95). This shows that it was a convenient, strong, and spacious building, situated in the best part of the town, and that it had a large garden in which were a bathing-place, a fountain, and a raised basin supplied with pipe-water from 'Seripilly' [? Charlapalli, about 10 miles north-east of Hyderabad, near where there are two large tanks]. Thevenot (vol. v, pp. 284–5) says that the king's palace at Bhagnagar in 1666 was also supplied with pipe-water brought 'from a great way off'. The garden outside the town, mentioned by Carré, is probably the one in the English and Dutch cemetery, which is described by Havart in pt. II, 95–6.

[1] The Dutch had the advantage of a residency at the court of Golconda, and they constantly gave large presents to the king and his courtiers, to smooth their business (Madras let. to Co., 9 Jan. 1666, *E.F.*, 1665–7, 128). That they compounded for customs by the payment of an annual sum is mentioned in a Masulipatam letter of 6 Nov. 1630 (*E.F.*, 1630–33, 85). According to Havart (II, 100–7) the amount paid was 3,000 old pagodas, the equivalent of which he gives as 25,000 gulden. At 12*s.* for an old pagoda (the value given by Bowrey, p. 115), the former amount comes to £1,800; and at 1*s.* 9*d.* a gulden, the latter equals £2,100. The Dutch no doubt paid other large sums, for instance in 1631 they had to give the king 16,000 old pagodas (£8,400) in respect of their factory at Masulipatam, a payment which was spread over several years and of which they got quit in 1676 (Havart, II, 103–5). They also gave large presents on special occasions; but, even with these additions, it seems clear that Carré's statement that they paid 400,000 écus, which (at 4*s.* 6*d.* an écu) equals £90,000, is an exaggeration.

[2] As to the unpopularity of the Dutch on the Malabar coast, cf. *E.F.*, I, 312–3. Carré's prophecy to some extent accords with the view taken by Curzon (*Persia,* II, 550–1) that the loss of the Dutch colonial possessions was due to

Our Catholic religion has more liberty in this kingdom than anywhere else in the East. We have two churches at Golconda, one in the suburb called Millapour [see p. 326], which is nearer Bhagnagar than Golconda, and the other in a village called the Royal aldea, a kind of suburb of Golconda, where most of the Christians reside. Both churches are served by Portuguese secular priests; that at Millapour is the Vicariate, while the other one is in the Royal aldea under it. There are a great many Christians in both places, mostly Portuguese, some of whom are attracted thither by business and trade; some by the liberty and ease with which they can earn a trifle that saves them from the misery they suffer in Portuguese towns; while others come here to avoid payment of their debts, or the investigations which might be made into their lives, and from which they are secure in this place of liberty.

The Dutch employ many of that class of people, among others a fine troop of musicians. These are poor Christians from Kanara, near Goa. They had passed their youth in slavery with some Portuguese nobles, where they had learnt to strum a guitar and sing some airs, almost as melodious as penitential psalms. They have become so proud of their accomplishments that, finding nothing to attract them in their own country, they visit the oriental courts, as they think there is nothing more charming and melodious than their music. I had this diversion at all our meals. One tortured a harp, another strummed a guitar, a third scraped on a violin, and two others, having no other instruments but their voices, joined in with the rest in such a way that one could not listen to their harmonies without pity and compassion. There was nothing but repetition of *helás, háa, híns, hús,* and such like sounds, which lasted about a quarter of an hour. After the meal, they came and asked me proudly what I thought of their fine concert, and enquired if we had anything so charming and agreeable in our European countries. 'No,' I replied, 'we certainly have nothing like it, and I can assure you that, if in France we had a troop like yours, we would enjoy it with much more pleasure and amusement than all the tunes we use. But what of it? Every country has its own modes.' They were so delighted at hearing me speak in

'their sordid and exclusive spirit, which led them to sacrifice everything to a monopoly of the spice trade'; but the essential reason for this result was that Holland (whether or not arrogant and hated by other nations) was militarily too weak to retain them (cf. Khan, *East India Trade in the 17th Century*, p. 135).

this manner that they imagined they were the best musicians in the world. They had never found anyone to praise them as they thought I had done; and when I was not chatting with the Dutch, they came running into any room where I was, and gave me so much of their society that my people had great difficulty in turning them out at night, to enable me to get a little repose.

Monday, 27 March. The envoy sent by the Dutch to the court returned in the evening. He had received entire satisfaction, and brought orders, signed by the king, that the Dutch were to enjoy peaceably all their rights and privileges, and that no one, whatever his rank or position might be, was to give them any trouble whatsoever. The commandant told me at once that I could leave when I wished, without the fear of even having to give my name, for I could say I was an officer of their Company, as certified by the passport they gave me.

Accordingly that evening I began my preparations to leave next morning before the heat of the day. As I was having all my clothes folded and my baggage packed, one of my servants came to tell me that the troop of musicians wanted to speak to me. This annoyed me very much, as I had other things on my mind, which were more important to me than their music. I therefore sent word that I was too busy to see them that evening; but they sent back a message, saying that, as they had heard I was leaving next day, they had come to bid me goodbye, and would, if necessary, wait all night till I had finished my business. I was, therefore, obliged to let them enter, and begged them to let me know at once what they wanted, but above all, they were not to worry me with any concerts. After they had assured me they had only come to wish me *bon voyage*, they implored me to grant them a favour for one of their own countrymen.

Thereupon they produced the miserable Canarin, who had occasioned such a turmoil by abandoning my baggage, and who was the sole cause of my delay in this town. They all begged me to allow him to accompany me, but I refused flatly, saying that I would not embarrass myself again with a person of so little sense; he would only give me more trouble and vexation on the road. Even my servants begged me to have nothing to do with him. I therefore asked them politely to leave me in peace; but it was quite useless, and never had they played a tune with more vigour than that which they now employed in importuning me to grant

their supplications. They said in each repetition of their precious prayers and remonstrances that he was a Christian like themselves. He himself also took a part in this concert, for, sitting in a corner, he cried and wailed in such a way that at last, to get rid of this music, I was obliged to tell him that he could come with us if he liked, but as I did not wish to have his closer acquaintance, he must make all his own arrangements, and that he could follow me only on those terms. But, if my people went faster than he did, as was probable, we would leave him behind on the road-side. If I had not found this expedient to get rid of them, I think they would have stayed there all night.

CHAPTER II

JOURNEY FROM GOLCONDA TO ST. THOMÉ

Tuesday, 28 *March* 1673. My palanquin and the rest of my equipage were ready at daybreak. I bade farewell to the Dutch commandant, who gave me two of his peons and two of the kotwal's to accompany me for a league out of the town, so that nothing should be said to me in passing the two or three offices where dues were collected. I dismissed these four peons with some pieces of money for their trouble in coming so far, and we continued on our road in the pleasant coolness of the morning. The heat became excessive at noon, so we rested at Athanogard,[1] a long town with only one street like Le Bourg la Reine, near Paris.[2] It is well peopled by Hindus and embellished in the centre by a magnificent castle, which appears to be quite new and is surrounded by a large ditch, dressed at the bottom and on the sides with cut stone so white that it looks like marble. The water in it was, therefore, very pure and fresh. After resting a little in the place, we marched the rest of the day and passed the night at Malicaperte,[3] a very long and pleasant village, shaded with large trees, which make a good resting-ground for travellers. My people arranged all our things round the house of a Hindu, who gave me shelter, as I did not dare take the risk of passing the night in the open on account of the cold night air.

For the three following days we passed through a very agreeable, fertile, and well populated country, first crossing some mountains and hills, from which many streams water the valleys, so that rice, millet, and other grains are grown there for food. We also passed several large villages, situated in a sort of forest of palm and mango trees, from the first of which such a large amount of a wine called tary [toddy] is drawn that we found the roads full of droves of forty or fifty horses and bullocks, laden with this beverage. This was being taken to Golconda in large leathern

[1] Probably this is Hayātnagar, about eight miles from Hyderabad (Sheet No. 56 K–11). Tavernier (*Travels*, I, 140) calls it 'Iatenagar'.

[2] Bourg-la-Reine is on the R. Bièvre, about five miles from Paris (*Larousse du XXme siècle*, I, 817).

[3] This seems to be Malkāpur, about 14 miles from Hayatnagar (Sheet No. 56 K–15).

bags [MS. *sacques*]: and there is a great trade in it throughout the neighbouring towns for twenty leagues round, as it is a wholesome and healthy drink for the people of the country, who say it is more nourishing and refreshing than anything else they have.

Our Canarin followed us for the first two days, as well as he could. We had not given him any of my baggage, so as not to have to wait for him. However, on the third day, being a little in the rear, he seems to have lost himself in these woods among the many little paths from one village to another, and we have had no news of him from that day.

Saturday, 1 *April.* We marched all the morning over a stony road, which gave us infinite trouble till about midday, when we arrived at the crossing of the river Quisno [Kistna].[1] It lies in a rocky gorge, is very broad, and carries heavily laden boats. We found an office on the bank, where transit dues are collected for merchandise, palanquins, men, and horses. After we had crossed the river by boat, we rested some time at a village of the same name, situated on a rocky hill, which runs down to the river. Here we came across some Christians and a Portuguese priest, whom I invited to eat with me, in order to enquire from them about the state of the roads. They told me they had come from Madras and were bound for Goa; also that they had been eighteen days on the way, and had suffered more from the heat than from anything else. They assured me that the Moors had completely abandoned the siege of St. Thomé, and that the French had repulsed them so fiercely and frequently that out of more than 50,000 men sent to the front during the eight months' siege there remained only about four or five thousand, who had retreated a league or so from St. Thomé between two mountains.[2] They did not dare to return without orders from the court at Golconda, so that the French remained victorious and in peaceable possession of the place, to the great contentment of everyone in the countryside, especially the Christians, who are very numerous on this

[1] This crossing was probably at about the position shown as 'Ferry' on the R. Kistna, between Nandkonda and Mācherla, in *India and Adjacent Countries*, Sheet No. 56 (Hyderabad, Deccan).

[2] According to Kaeppelin (p. 100) Martin estimated that 3,000 had been killed from the commencement of the siege, and his *Mémoires* (1, 430) mention two to three thousand as the number that retreated. As to the distance to which they withdrew, see *n.* 2 at p. 508 *post*).

coast. 'As to the roads,' they continued, 'we passed a number of miserable soldiers returning from the siege in such a pitiable state that only four in twenty had arms; but what gave us most trouble were the Dutch spies, whom we found in many places. They made great difficulties over letting us pass, taking us for French deserters, some of whom they were arresting daily. These are the only sort of people you will have to fear.'

After having regaled these Portuguese as well as I could with what food I had, I thanked them for the good news they had given me; and we followed our route all day on roads similar to those of the morning. I pitied my poor people, who could hardly find a sure foothold among the sharp stones with which this country is covered.[1] However, as they are used to this fatigue and go like madmen with their loads, they did not relax from making good progress, so as to arrive sooner at the halting places and have more time to rest. About four o'clock we overtook two companies of lascarins, Hindu soldiers,[2] without leaders, going in confusion towards St. Thomé. As some had their baggage, and others were accompanied by their wives and children, they did not look like people who were going on any war-like expedition. This made me enquire whence they came and whither they were bound in this fashion, most of them without arms. One of them, a Christian who spoke Portuguese well, came to my palanquin to talk to me, while marching. He said that they were all soldiers from St. Thomé in the Moor army, who had fled when the French took the place; that the Moors had taken them all to Golconda and kept them in prison together with their wives and children who had followed them in this adversity; but that only ten days previously they had been set free and given their liberty, so were now returning to their villages, which were in the neighbourhood of St. Thomé and Madras.[3]

[1] Spurs from the Nallamalai hills extend to the country traversed by Carré: cf. *Imp. Gaz. of India* (Province of Madras), I, 151, and Sheet 56 P–7 and P–3, showing the tract near Macherla, to which Carré came (p. 356 *post*).

[2] MS. *lasquarins, soldats gentiles*. In other passages he spells the first word 'lascarins'. Martin (I, 425) similarly calls them 'lascarins', the word being derived from the Pers. *lashkarī*, a soldier, through the Portuguese form *lasquarim* (*Hobson-Jobson*, 507–8). As 'lascar' is now commonly used in the sense of a sailor, and not of a soldier, we have retained 'lascarins' in the translation.

[3] The whole surviving garrison fled after the French had scaled the walls of St. Thomé (Martin, I, 358; Delestrē, 173). Also most of the Moor garrison and

In the evening we reached Macheron [Mācherla][1], a large town inhabited by Hindus, who have a big pagoda there in the form of a pyramid, adorned on the outside with many carved idols. A high festival was kept up all night in this abominable place. For three or four hours they burnt incense, and offered gifts and continual adoration to their gods with frightful howls, accompanied by the music of many lugubrious instruments. They then placed their idols in richly adorned palanquins, and paraded them all round the streets and their houses with great ceremonies, singing, dances, cries and such outrageous howls, that they seemed as if possessed by those demons whom they worship.[2] This so horrified me that, when they passed close by me, I was furiously angry with my servants, as nearly all of them left me to rush after these infamous idolators and see the end of the ceremonies, which finish with unutterable things. I myself, though I have seen them several times, could scarcely believe my eyes.

Sunday, 2 April, Easter Day. All day we crossed mountains and very rough roads, where two of my people stopped, being unable any longer to bear the heat and exhaustion experienced in these defiles; and we got clear from them with the greatest difficulty to arrive at a pretty town called Mariaml [Marrivēmula].[3] This was full of soldiers from Golconda bound for the siege of St. Thomé. They had halted here, as they were not sure whether they ought to continue on their way or return home, for fugitives, with

a large part of the inhabitants were so frightened by Dutch propaganda that the French were pitiless monsters who would not spare any of them that during the previous night they fled from the town with their women and children (Delort, *Revue Maritime, &c.*, XLVII, 453–4). The people mentioned by Carré may have come from both or either of these two classes.

[1] Mācherla is in the Palnad taluk of the Guntur district. It was the ancient capital of the Palnad heroes, and has numerous remains of antiquity (*Kistna District Manual*, 1883, p. 161; *Arch. Survey of Sthrn. India*, Sewell's *List of Remains in the Madras Presidency*, 1882, I, 60, and as to the Palnad heroes App. A.) Tavernier (*Travels*, I, 239) passed through it and Marrivēmula on a journey from Gandikota to Golconda.

[2] The temple was probably the fine old one of Vishnu, mentioned by Sewell (*loc. cit.* 60 and App. A, XXIV). As to the noise, cf. Methwold's description (*Relations of Golconda*, p. 21) of an idol-procession: 'about midnight the saint is drawne forth in procession . . . with much clamour of drummes, trumpets, hoboyes, and such like country musicke'.

[3] Marrivēmula is near the Kandieru river, and about 17 miles from Vinukonda. It has hilly country in its neighbourhood (Sheet 56 P–12).

whom the roads were crowded, declared that their whole army had been routed by the French. Next day we crossed a mountainous district as difficult as that encountered on the preceding day, and arrived in the evening at a little town called Chentapero.[1] Here we found a great number of troopers returning from the siege of St. Thomé, and engaged in plundering every place they passed. This obliged me to draw a little aside with all my people to some lonely Hindu houses, where we were given shelter.

On Tuesday, the 4th we found a slightly more agreeable road than on the preceding days.

Wednesday, 5 April. We marched all day among troops of soldiers, some going to, others returning from, St. Thomé.[2] Some officers, taking me for a foreign merchant, asked my people why I was going in the direction from which everyone was escaping. They replied that I was Dutch and *en route* for Pulicat. This obliged them to respect me and leave me at liberty as much as I could expect from that sort of people. I stopped that night at Bagnepale, a large Hindu village near a fine tank,[3] which was half surrounded by a very high embankment, shaded on both sides by fine bushy evergreen trees that rendered the place very pleasant by their shade. This tank, its borders and the gardens around it, are nearly all swampy, and were so full of duck and other waterfowl that two of my servants, who went to shoot them, returned in less than half an hour with a great many delicious birds. The inhabitants here water their gardens with numerous little runnels drawn from the tank, which they close and open as needed, so that grain, rice, and vegetables, are produced in abundance. During the next two days we passed through heavy fields sown with rice. We had great difficulty in crossing these, as they were full of water brought from tanks some five or six leagues away, the land

[1] This perhaps is Kanmalacheruvu, about half-way between Marrivēmula and Vinukonda, where there is now a rest-house (Sheet 56 P–12).

[2] Langhorn's Brahman representative at Golconda reported in March 1673 that Chennupalli Mirza (who in 1670 had commanded the troops in the Poonamallee district) was being sent to supersede the local commanders of the Golconda forces, with reinforcements of some 5,000 cavalry and the same number of infantry (F.R., 26 Fort St. George 9, 11; cf. Love, I, 265, 327).

[3] This cannot be Banganapalle, at long. 78°–78° 35′ E. and lat. 15°–15° 30′ N. in the Kurnool district, as it lies some 80 miles to the west of the route between Marrivēmula and Nellore taken by Carré. No town or village of this name, or like it, has been traced in the latter locality.

being so flat and low. We spent these two days at the aldeas of Goulour and Mahou.

Saturday, 8 *April*. We now entered a flat, dry, and arid country, covered with brushwood and small trees, where we saw quantities of gazelles, deer, hares, and partridges, in such great numbers that my people had only to go a short way from our path to kill as many as they wished. We stopped about noon at a pleasant village, which belonged to a renegade Englishman. He had made a great fortune in commerce at Madras, turned Moslem, and bought this village, which he had embellished with a fine house, built in Hindu style. He had also constructed two convenient buildings on the roadside in the middle of the village for the use of travellers, and had deepened a fine tank near this place, so as to provide water all the year round. Afterwards we passed two other aldeas belonging to this Englishman, and stopped the night at Nelour [Nellore], a pleasant little town on the banks of a large river [R. Penner], full of fish. At its entrance two large pagodas are to be seen on the river banks. They are very high, in the form of a pyramid, with many little niches full of idols, which the inhabitants here worship and revere in a very shocking manner.[1]

After crossing this river we entered a large square between the town and the two pagodas, where I was absolutely astounded to see about 80 to 100 large monkeys running in troops on every side. They crowded round my palanquin and followed me about the streets, showing their teeth and chattering as if they wished to say something to me. Some came quite near and stood upon their hind legs to look at me as I passed. Others squatted down, suckling their little ones, while some followed me all the time as our poor follow a devout woman who is known to give alms on leaving church. It was useless to tell my people to beat these villainous animals, or to drive them away from me. They would do nothing, and I was still more astonished when they told me to be careful not to harm any of these beasts, if we wished to avoid being stoned by the inhabitants. They reverence these animals so highly that they feed them every day at certain hours; and the reason why these monkeys followed me was that when a Hindu merchant passes in his palanquin he distributes rice, cakes, and other food, as alms to each of the animals, so that they expected to receive

[1] One of them was probably the temple of Mulasthanesvaraswamiram shown on Sheet 57 N–15, and mentioned by Sewell, *loc. cit.* I, 144.

the same charity from me.[1] I burst out laughing at the foolishness of these Hindus, and told my men that, while they were not to harm the monkeys, the latter might all die of hunger before they got any charity from me.

Afterwards we found a resting place in the middle of the town. Here were some merchants from the direction of Pulicat, who told us that the roads were full of soldiers, so desperate that they had banded themselves together, and were creating disorders everywhere they went. My people were rather alarmed and begged me to let them take a side road known to them, by which we could pass with more safety than along the ordinary route. I willingly agreed to this, for I was as anxious as they were to avoid dangerous encounters in the way; another reason was that they promised this road would take three or four days less than the ordinary route, of which I was very glad.

Sunday, 9 *April*. All day the country was flat, open, and sown with rice, grain, and vegetables that these country folk cultivate with admirable care, with the help of a number of small tanks, from which they get water in a very wonderful way. They first draw it out with a wooden machine like the crane they use for raising cut stones in building houses.[2] They then pour the water through a number of little channels, which wind round the places to be watered. This is the only way of cultivating the earth for nine or ten months in the year, when the heat is unbelievable, without a single drop of rain.

We then passed through two villages, dependencies of the Dutch, where one of my Christian servants, who knew the language, told the Hindus here that I was a Dutch officer *en route* to Pulicat. On this their spies and the headmen came to salute me and brought some presents. They could not believe that a Frenchman would wish to come from Golconda, seeing that everyone was flying from St. Thomé to Golconda territory; moreover the latter were not travelling in a palanquin, nor with a large following, as I was. However, without stopping to rest, as they wished,

[1] As to the feeding of monkeys and their worship in India, cf. Tavernier, *Travels*, I, 63–4, 65, 85, 158; Manucci, III, 141–2; Fryer, II, 73; Dubois, ed. Beauchamp, II, 644. The *Nellore District Manual*, 1873, shows three kinds of monkeys in this district.

[2] This 'crane', which is used in many parts of India, is a long lever, pivoted on an upright post or pair of posts, weighted with earth at one end and with a pot for the water slung at the other. Cf. Hobson-Jobson, *s.v.* Picottah.

I received their presents with disdain and ignored their civilities quite in the Dutch manner, which raised me in their estimation. That evening we arrived at Cotepatnam [Kottapatnam], a little town inhabited by Hindus.[1] We stayed only long enough to take our food, and continued our march all night, in order to evade two or three places, where the Dutch had posted watchmen whom we fortunately avoided.

Monday, 10 *April*. After having marched since dawn over sands, we came to a large river about seven o'clock. It is broad and deep, so can take large merchantmen, and flows from inland, where it has several tributaries.[2] After crossing this river by boat, we reached the seashore in about an hour. The coast is very low and sandy, and runs to the north and south. We followed it to the south, where for the rest of the day the burning sand under the rays of the sun gave us much distress. We then passed near two Dutch villages, where I thought it better not to stop, though there was nothing much to fear, as the only people there were Hindus or country folk. Accordingly, leaving them on one side, we marched without stopping till evening, when we rested at Armougon [Armagon],[3] a very flourishing and agreeable place. It manufactures a variety of lovely piece goods such as cottons, chintz, painted stuffs [printed fabrics], and other curious cloths.[4]

I was surprised to see a large cross before the door of an old church in the middle of this aldea, though it is inhabited only by Hindus. I asked for an explanation of this from a man who spoke Portuguese. He told me that the place had been under the Por-

[1] Kottapatnam is on the Coromandel coast between Kistnapatnam and Armagon.

[2] Probably this was the north end of the Pulicat Lake. No river between Kottapatnam and Armagon is marked on the maps; nor does Streynsham Master (II, 132, 180) mention any in his account of his journey from Madras to those places and back again in 1679. On the other hand Armagon was on an island, so some crossing was necessary; and even if there was no river at the north end of the lagoon, as there was at its south end (p. 361, *n.* 4), the numerous islands roundabout there might give the intervening water the appearance of one.

[3] Armagon (Tam. *Arumugam*) is 35 miles north of Pulicat. The English Company first settled there in 1626, but abandoned it for Fort St. George in 1640 (Foster, *Founding of Fort St. George*; Love, I, 13–25).

[4] This manufacture must have started since 1639, when Francis Day reported that 'the place affords nothing of itselfe, not so much as a peece of whit[e] cloath' (O.C. 1690, reproduced by Love, I, 16).

tuguese for a long time, and that there used to be priests and many Christians there. Afterwards it fell under an English Roman Catholic who, on becoming a renegade, expelled all the Christians and finally sold the place to a Hindu called Virenna [Viranna], of whom I will speak afterwards.[1] He is a Brahman, the richest and most powerful in the country, who was now living at Madras. He had in his hands all the English trade on the coast and neighbouring countries.[2]

Next day, the 11th, I marched through plains near the sea. On one side there was the burning sand, and on the other a forest of all kinds of trees and several villages. We did not stop till nightfall, when we rested at Chiquitcol [Srīharikōt], a large village in a plain by a fine tidal creek.[3]

Wednesday, 12 *April*. We crossed nothing but sand all day, as on the previous march, and about four o'clock in the afternoon arrived at the Pulicat river,[4] which we crossed by boat. I now changed into Portuguese dress, and made my servants leave off their peons' dress and wear Portuguese clothes. I instructed them all to say I was a Portuguese coming from Goa. We then resumed our march: at first we tried to go straight on, but we had to pass close by three or four posts of guards and were arrested at the first, I was questioned as to who I was and whence I had come. I replied I was a Portuguese from Goa, *en route* to Madras. I was then told I must go into the fort[5] and ask the Dutch commandant for a pass. They took me into the fortress, where I was kept waiting at least half an hour at the entrance with two other Portuguese, who were also in palanquins. They had only just arrived from Madras and were going to Goa.

[1] Armagon was probably held by Viranna on lease from the King of Golconda, as were several other villages near Madras. In 1675 Langhorn said that Viranna had all the coast from Madras to Armagon, except Pulicat, in his hands (Love, I, 351–2, 356).

[2] Kasi Viranna, generally called 'Cassa Verona' in the English records of the time, was the chief merchant of the English Company at Madras from 1670 till his death in 1680. He had great influence, and Carré's statement that he had in his hands all the English trade, etc., is virtually correct (cf. Love, I, 231, 413–4).

[3] Srīharicōt is on the island of that name, and about 50 miles from Madras. Streynsham Master (II, 130–1, 180) called it 'Chycaracoat'.

[4] I.e. the Arani river at the southernmost end of the Pulicat lake: cf. *S.M.*, II, 130.

[5] This fort, called Geldria, was built about 1613. As to it see *Relations of Golconda*, XXIII, 4, 53; *S.M.*, II, 181–2; Manucci, IV, 458.

While we were waiting for the return of the corporal, who had gone to tell the commandant of our arrival, we were surrounded by all the soldiers not on guard and by the riff-raff of the place. They came in crowds to look at us and discuss our appearance as they pleased. Some asked our servants in a whisper whence we had come: others enquired if we were Christians, and what language we spoke. Nine or ten French soldiers also drew near and watched us with curiosity. As they could not imagine I understood French, they expressed themselves pretty freely. One said I did not look like a Frenchman; another that my face was more like that of a Spaniard; but, said a third, indicating a stout Portuguese with a blond wig, 'Of these three I would rather take that fat fop for a Frenchman'. Finally we saw a sergeant, who dispersed all this crowd, and told us to come with him to the commandant. He took us there, marching in front with his halberd, and a troop of soldiers at our tail. They followed us as if we were prisoners of war, taken to be questioned before a general. They were so accustomed to see Frenchmen brought here from St. Thomé that they imagined every passing stranger must be French. Only one of the Portuguese came with me; the other was so feeble and ill that he could not leave his palanquin. We found the Dutch commandant in a divan under the shade of three fine trees. With him were three officers, who received us civilly enough. They asked us several questions, and made accusations from which the Portuguese defended himself marvellously. He swore with a thousand oaths that he was Portuguese, and that he had nothing French about him; that he had a great aversion to that nation, who hardly knew what India was, and yet wanted to be masters of the principal and best places here; that he was going to Goa with his sick relation, as he could not bear to stay any longer in Madras, being heart-broken to see those French ruffians in possession of the loveliest and finest town in India [St. Thomé] which had formerly belonged to the Portuguese.

This miserable coward said so many things against the French that the Dutch commandant recognised he was indeed a true Portuguese and a sworn enemy of the French nation. He brought wine to quench his fury at the wrong and insult he had suffered by the mere suspicion of being French. The dialogue lasted at least half an hour, and I was rather uneasy at seeing the way in which they cross-examined people to find out if they were French. What

was in my favour and removed all suspicion was that I came from a part from which they all knew no Frenchmen usually came, so that they closely examined only those that came from the direction of St. Thomé. However, I was not afraid of being questioned, and gave a good account of Goa, of the Portuguese and their Viceroy, of their fleet, and the preparations to send a powerful army to the Persian Gulf, so that everything went well for me, as the commandant was pleased with the news I brought and actually gave me two glasses of wine. Then this Portuguese braggart, who sat near me, almost ruined my business. He began to question me himself, and asked so many difficult things that it was as if he had been engaged by the Dutch to sound me to the depths of my soul. After having examined me from head to foot, he said that I really had a Portuguese look, and even that I knew the language well; but that I had a certain accent in my speech which sounded a little like Italian or some other foreign tongue. 'You must not be surprised at this,' I said, 'because I lived for a long time in Italy and the Levantine countries, and having learnt some of these foreign languages, I have no doubt acquired a little accent.' 'But,' he asked me, 'from what part of Portugal do you come?' 'I come,' I replied boldly, 'from the province of Alanteyge [Alantejo], which is without contradiction the noblest and the most fertile, and the richest of all our kingdom of Portugal. It has the bravest fidalgos and knights, and my two brothers were captains of cavalry under the command of the brave French general, the Count of Chomberg [Schomberg], who has served our crown so well in the civil war, which we waged against Castile.'[1] 'You are then really a fidalgo?' said this braggart arrogantly, 'seeing you have two brothers who are captains of cavalry in our country; and no doubt the brave French general of whom you boast so much has ennobled your family.' I saw he was cut to the quick, and that he was trying to annoy me, as he could not bear to hear that the crown of Portugal was under great obligations to French arms. I told him that the respect I had for the worthy commandant and other Dutch officers

[1] Count Friedrich Hermann Schomberg was a German, who entered service in the French army in 1635–9 and 1650–9. In 1659 Louis XIV sent him to be military adviser at Lisbon. The Portuguese generals, whose forces included English and French mercenaries and volunteers, successfully carried out his plans in the war against Spain in 1662–7, which resulted in her recognising the independence of the Portuguese government (*Biog. Gén.*, XLIII, 576; *Enc. Brit.*, XVIII, 280 and XX, 82).

prevented me from answering him as I hoped to do when these gentlemen gave us liberty to leave, and I would soon show him that I was not such a low and cowardly creature as himself, one who changed his sentiments and feelings according to the occasions which arose. 'If you still doubt whether I am Portuguese, I hope to make you aware of it when you arrive in Goa, in a way you do not expect. I shall send two of my servants with news about me and yourself before you arrive, and I hope to return there as soon as I have finished my business in Madras with one of my relations.' 'What!' he said, 'have you relations also in this part of the country?' 'Certainly I have,' I replied, 'and I am not obliged by poverty to run all over the place as you are doing. I would give you the whole of India to work in before you could acquire the tenth of the riches possessed by Dom Lucq Louis of Madras. I am going there expressly to oppose his daughter's marriage to a miserable Reinol [natural-born Portuguese], who must have passed by here lately [see pp. 341–2]. I know him, and he is not of a rank worthy to marry one of my relations.' My Portuguese was very astonished to hear me speak in this manner, as he knew this Dom Lucq Louis was one of the richest of that race in Madras. He did not talk quite so loudly and spoke of the big wealth of this Portuguese, who came also from one of the best families in Portugal. Thereupon the Dutch commandant said I was very right, as a relation of such a rich man, to oppose the marriage of his daughter to the man who had passed here four or five days before, with a very shabby equipage; 'but,' he said, 'gentlemen, I do not want you to leave here at daggers drawn. I wish you to be friends and to share the same lodging, in which you must stop tonight, as it is too late for you to continue your journeys.' 'For my part,' I replied to the commandant, 'I have nothing against this worthy man, though he did try to render me ridiculous, pretending that I knew nothing about my own land of Portugal, where possibly he has never been himself, and also because I am not inclined to betray my feelings as he can.' 'What!' cried this Portuguese, 'in what way have I betrayed my feelings?' 'That,' I said, 'is a thing I will keep till we are outside.' 'No, no,' said the Dutchman, 'I implore you, do not keep anything back: say freely here all that is in your heart, so that I may try to settle your differences before you leave me.' Feeling myself, therefore, a little more assured than at the beginning, I proceeded to dress

down my Portuguese in a way that astonished all these Dutchmen. They were all now of the opinion that I was a real Portuguese and of much higher birth than the other. 'Gentlemen,' I said, 'what I have not only against this man, but also against almost all the Portuguese in India is this. They have no esteem or good opinion of any nation but their own. Only three weeks ago I met a Portuguese at Golconda who held forth against all of the European nations in a most unpleasant way, and above all—you will excuse me, Sir, if I say this—against the Dutch, with such a fury that we had difficulty in calming him down. He said your nation was the basest in the world, and the greatest enemy of Christianity; that they had risen and enriched themselves in the East only by following our navigators, who are the best in the world, and who discovered this country, previously unknown to Europe. "What!" he continued, "we see the pride and haughtiness of this nation enthroned in towns and places that once were ours! Can we look with a favourable eye on a nation which has taken all commerce out of our hands and reduced us to extreme want, while they prosper? Before their arrival we saw our Portuguese nation masters of all India, Persia, the Red Sea, China, Japan, and like eastern countries. Now they are the toy of every other European nation and are despised by the Orientals." Finally he said so many things and became so enraged, that he behaved like a madman. We tried to calm him down a little. "What!" I said to him, "are you in your sober senses to talk like this? Why do you blame the Dutch for all the calamities and misery that your nation has suffered in India? Why do you accuse that nation of baseness? God has used them, as He always does, to chastise or abase the pride and haughtiness with which we wished to rule and govern everything. No, no," I said, "you must not rage against the Dutch, but against idolatry, against wild passion to amass treasures, against luxury, against illicit delights and voluptuous excesses. You must denounce all these, for they have ruined our fine government and lost us all our credit and reputation, as well as all our trade, our towns, and principal places, and finally have reduced us to misery and contempt all over the East." But, gentlemen,' I continued, 'what astonished me most was the deceit of this man (whom I thought to be such a great enemy of your nation, after having heard him declaim as he did) two days afterwards in your factory at Golconda, when I was calling on Sr. Hartsing, its Chief. During

an hour's conversation, this gallant man entertained us with praises of the Dutch and his great contempt for other nations, without having had any reason to complain of them. My memories of that man made me think that this fellow was of the same type, because I have observed, since we have both had the honour of being in your company, that he has all along praised you and spoken ill of the other nations, even of those to whom we are under obligations, as neither he nor I can deny. Indeed the whole world knows that, without the protection of the King of France and some help from England, we might not have had the Portuguese crown, and everyone knows of the might of the King of France. Again, what harm have we received from the French that this man should speak so badly of them? It is true, as he said, that the French took St. Thomé, but did they wrest it from the hands of the Portuguese? No, certainly not. They drove out the Moors, who had ruled there for eleven years to our shame and confusion, and yet we took no steps to regain the place. Moreover, I can prove that this was to our benefit, and also of great advantage to you Dutch. As regards ourselves, it was a more glorious thing to have this place in French hands, as Europeans and Christians like ourselves, than to see it possessed by Moors, the enemies of our religion. And on your side, gentlemen, you cannot deny that, if the brave French Viceroy had not taken that place and defended it for eight months against all the forces of this powerful kingdom [Golconda], his fleet would have caused you great inconvenience and given you much more trouble in this war than you now have from them, since their fleet was firmly tied down to staying before this place, so that they could not undertake anything against you. You will excuse me, gentlemen,' I continued to the Dutch, who were amazed to hear me speak thus, 'if I express my sentiments so freely: you asked me to do so, and I obey as a man of honour, without hiding anything and to let you know of the insults, rancour, and clamorous complaints which I am always hearing behind the backs of the Dutch, French, English, and other nations. This is the usual resort of effeminate and cowardly souls, whereby they only make themselves despicable. I shall always affirm that to the present day the Dutch have an admirable government, which has rendered them rich and powerful. It is now for them to uphold this splendid state, and not to be carried away by arrogance and pride, which can reduce them some day lower than we are

today in this country. There, gentlemen, is what I intended to say privately to this person in order to show him that he had no reason to insult me as he did. I leave you to judge between us.'

The second Dutchman who was there listened to me without interrupting, as did all the others. He now spoke and expressed great regret that I had waited so long before mentioning the Chief of the Golconda factory, Sr. Willem Hartsing, who was his brother. He begged me earnestly to say how he was and to give details of his illness, about which he was very anxious. I told him that Sr. Hartsing had found a Hindu doctor, who had treated him for eight months with simples and local herbs, which are very efficacious when their use is known, and that he had been much relieved thereby. I also said, 'I am under great obligations to him for his courtesy to me during my three days' stay with him, and I feel compelled to let you [the brother] know my gratitude for these civilities, seeing that you are so closely affected.' 'I am not surprised,' replied the commandant Pavillon,[1] 'that he did you the small services which you praise so highly; and he was quite right to entertain a man such as you are. We also shall be honoured if you wish to stay here a few days, and shall try to do all we can for you.' They wanted me to stay the whole evening and have my meal with them; but I explained to them that I was not well and wished to retire, in order to get a little repose and to rest my people. They sent an officer to conduct the two Portuguese and me to the best hostelry in the place, where we were very comfortable, as we were with an officer of the Company, who kept this large house, with fine and clean rooms for the use of European strangers. The two Portuguese, one of whom was very ill, took another room for themselves, so as to be quiet. This pleased me very much, as I feared their acquaintance and society more than anything else, knowing from experience that there was more to be lost than gained from it. I was thankful to find myself alone with my servants and to keep them by me, so that they should not run all over the fort with some of their Christian comrades: for they would probably drink together and discuss me, or commit some disorders in a place where I was almost afraid of my own

[1] The commandant's real name was Antoni Paviljoen, but the English and French generally spelt the surname 'Pavillon' or 'Pavillion' (cf. *S.M.*, I, 296, 297*n*.). He was the head of the Dutch on the Coromandel coast (Valentijn, V, [illegible])

shadow. I, therefore, took a large room and had all my baggage brought there. I also forbade my servants to leave the house without telling me where they were going. This precaution, hówever, was unnecessary, as they were so tired from the toil and fatigues of our long marches that they wished only for time to rest and recover.

Our host, who usually took in none but officers and people of the garrison, saw that we were three strangers, each with a fine equipage and a train of followers. He, therefore, took great pains in finding and preparing all that was best in Pulicat. But when it was a question of the hour for supper, he went to the two Portuguese, who replied that they only wanted to rest and would take nothing but some sweetmeats they had brought with them. The host was vexed at this, and did not even trouble to lay the table. He thought I was probably of the same opinion as the others and would go to bed without supper, which was far from my intention and hope, as I had eaten nothing solid for the three days we had marched day and night.[1] In addition to this, you can imagine the feelings of a man who was just beginning to be able to eat what he wished, after such an illness as I had had. Having waited impatiently for some time and seeing no signs of any preparations, I called the master of the house and asked him if one never ate anything here. 'What! Sir!' he cried, 'the two gentlemen who came with you sent to tell me that you wanted to take nothing but some sweets, which you had with you.' 'I see,' said I to him, 'that you don't understand. I am not in the company of those two of whom you speak. I don't wish to know them, nor to have any dealings with them. I well see that you do not know the difference between the Indian Portuguese and those coming from Portugal: so that, if you have anything good to offer me I shall be infinitely obliged, as well as for some bottles of the best wine you can find; and kindly give my servants all they want.' This Dutchman at once set all his staff to work and I was served very quickly. I had hoped to be alone at this meal; but, as I was sitting down at table,

[1] Carré no doubt refers to the three days and nights (April 9–11) spent on the side-route from Nellore to Pulicat (a distance of about 80 miles—p. 359 *ante*); but he travelled actually 'day and night' only on 9 April, and appears at any rate to have rested parts of the nights of 10th and 11th at Armagon and Sriharicot respectively. Tavernier (*Travels*, I, 213), going by another route, took three and a half days over the journey.

the Portuguese with whom I had had the quarrel, entered my room and set himself down without ceremony. He soon showed he had more need of a meal than of the repose which he had said he so much wanted. He still thought I was Portuguese and of a noble family, so told me he had come to make friends and improve his acquaintance with me. I replied coldly that I was not surprised at his coming to my table without being invited, because that was the custom of the Indian Portuguese, which was called in Europe something stronger than incivility, not wishing to use the word effrontery; but, in spite of my coldness, he did not cease eating and drinking, until I called one of my servants, who replied 'Seignor Padre'. Our Portuguese was thunderstruck, and asked one of my servants quietly whether I was a priest. On being told that I was, he rose from his seat, kissed my hand, and begged my forgiveness for having been so uncivil to me before the Dutch, not knowing who I was. If I had only let him know this, he said he would have shown me every respect and civility. 'No, no,' I said. 'It is not at Pulicat that I wish you to learn who I am, but at Goa, where the Holy Inquisition will teach you not to insult important people and those consecrated to the service of God. I hope you will also learn in that place whether I am a Portuguese fidalgo, or some wretched foreigner.' Thereupon this poor Portuguese thought he was lost. He feared nothing more than the Inquisition at Goa, with which I had threatened him. He did not even wait till I had said grace, but left the table and went to his room in a sad and disconcerted manner. He told his friend of this misadventure, and I can only say that I felt repaid by the fright which I had given him for that into which he had thrown me during our conversation before the Dutch.

About this time there arrived a French doctor, or so he styled himself, who was in the Dutch service. He had left the Roman Catholic religion to embrace that of the infamous Calvin,[1] in order to please the Dutch. They rewarded him by giving him a young Dutch lady in marriage. He came to the house, accom-

[1] John Calvin (1509–64), a French student who settled in 1536 at Geneva, and there started the creed known as Calvinism, a movement against the Roman Catholic Church, which had a great influence on European history. Among its results 'it made the Protestant Church in France, it fashioned the Dutch Republic, it was accepted as the national religion of Scotland' (Fisher, *A History of Europe*, p. 546).

panied by two surgeons who were eager to get some patients, as they were becoming rusty in their profession. All three gaily entered the room of the sick Portuguese, where they told him so many stories of the efficiency of their science that the poor dying man, whose health had been destroyed by the vices and illnesses common among Indo-Portuguese, thought he would gain a second life. He was so delighted, even in his extremity, that he refused the offer I sent to give him the Sacrament of Penance. It seemed as if God had sent me to this place expressly for helping this man in his dire need. I, therefore, felt obliged to send a Portuguese servant two or three times to implore him to seize this godsent opportunity to put his soul into a Christian condition. But it was of no effect, as he was so delighted with these master-physicians of the Dutch that he was confident their remedies and fine promises would soon set him on his feet again. He gave himself entirely over to them, and took without repugnance any medicines that they ordered. These fine operators, after staying more than an hour with the Portuguese to examine him by all the laws of Hippocrates and Galen, did not fail to visit me, no doubt by the orders of the Dutch commandant, who thought I looked very ill, or more probably to snatch a fee by offering me their services, having learnt I was still feeble from my last illness. The French doctor, who seemed the best, made me a complimentary speech in Latin, as he did not speak Portuguese. He asked about my illness, from where I had come, and who I was. What made me suspect his visit was that he sometimes used a few French words, and asked me if I did not understand them. But, as I distrusted everyone, I replied always in Latin, which made him think I did not know a word of French; so he did not speak it any more. He then began, with his two medical friends, to lecture me on the serious illness I had had, thinking I would be duped like the poor Portuguese. I listened for a quarter of an hour to their wonderful offers of excellent remedies, which would re-establish my strength and remove the stomach trouble that continued to weaken me and keep down my weight. I let him know that I was so opposed to remedies and medicines that I would never use them, no matter how ill I was; that my illness had only arisen from excessive heat, poor food, fatigue, and the foul and cold water that I had drunk during the march; I only wanted rest, nourishment, and some bottles of good wine to regain my strength; and all these I hoped

to obtain, as soon as I arrived in Madras. Thereupon these three doctors, realizing that their art and science did not attract me, retired, after I had shown them the medicine that I had already commenced to take, namely a good bottle of excellent Canary wine, from which I felt much better. The Portuguese did not profit by these doctors' medicines that he was credulous enough to take, for he died in twenty-four hours, just as he had hoped to regain a new lease of life.

This is a thing that poor Europeans in the East must guard against, not to rely on such a type of doctors, who mostly know little of the illnesses they treat or of the remedies they employ haphazard, as they use the same for everyone and all illnesses. I have been fortunate in all my travels, as I have never followed the caprices of such people. I use only some European remedies and medicines, of which I know the real value, and which I always carry about with me. Finally, about eleven o'clock at night, I got rid of these people, who (I really believed) were spies come to probe me. I could not bring myself to take a little rest, without first going into the room of our two Portuguese. I represented to the sick man with all possible zeal and power the danger he was in, and that he ought not to neglect this favourable opportunity sent by God; for, once I had left, he could not hope to get any spiritual help or consolation in this place, which was full of Moors, Hindus, and Calvinists, with whom it was a crime worthy of death even to open one's mouth about our religion and the holy sacraments of our Church—the only sure medicines for our suffering souls. But all my remonstrances, supplications, and prayers, had no effect on this poor dying man. He was so fascinated by the chimeras of those charlatans that he believed implicitly they would cure him from his two complaints, which was quite impossible without a miracle or some superhuman help. On leaving, his friend, with whom I had had the brawl, conducted me to my room, where he made a thousand excuses, and begged me in such a touching way to forget everything that had passed between us that I promised all he wished, on the condition that he tried to persuade his companion to receive the Sacrament of Penance before my departure. He tried to do this all the next night, but in vain, for the other thought, as do nearly all those dying, that there is no more hope for them, when Sacraments are spoken of, or they are advised to put their spiritual affairs in order.

Thursday, 13 *April*. It was barely daylight when my Portuguese went to see the Dutch 'second', who was to give us our passports, so that we might leave. He exhibited great sorrow at having treated me with such rudeness the preceding day, and informed the Dutchman that I was a Portuguese priest, who could ruin him or do him great harm, though he had offended me in all innocence, not knowing who I was. He implored him to try to remove any resentment I might have, when I called for my passport. During this time one of my servants came to tell me that there was a troop of soldiers at my door, who wished to speak to me secretly. As I could not imagine what sort of business they might have with me, I told my servant to bring up one or two into my room to inform me of their wishes. Accordingly he admitted a Frenchman and a Portuguese, who told me that, hearing I was a Portuguese priest, they had assembled all their Christian comrades to kiss my hands and to let me know the misery to which they were reduced on account of our religion. The Dutch obliged them to go to their services and gave them no liberty of conscience. It was a marvel and an unusual thing for them to see a priest, so they had come to beg me to let them receive the Sacrament of Penance, of which they had been deprived, as well as of every other function of our holy religion since their slavery with the Dutch. They painted such a picture of their misery and terrible life that I was surprised the Dutch could find any Europeans, however cowardly and depraved, to enter their service in India. It is a species of labyrinth, from which it is impossible to find the outlet, once you are inside.

The prayer of these poor folk so delighted me that I would have failed in my duty and charity if I had refused them. But considering the position I was in, and that I was obliged to be wary in all things, I thought it wise to put a little caution into my apostolic zeal and this missionary effort. I suspected at first that it was a trap laid by the Dutch, in order to arrest me, so I told these two soldiers that I could not accede to their wishes without the consent of Sr. Pavillon, the commandant of the place, and that they must all go to ask his permission. I would then gladly wait another day and give them at leisure what they wished. The French soldier, who knew a little Portuguese, told me that he ridiculed the idea, that I need not trouble about permission, and wished me to hear his Confession at once. I represented to him the risk we both ran, if

we were too precipitate in carrying out our religious observances in a Dutchman's house. He would not wait a single minute and left my room, cursing me like a madman in French, thinking I did not understand him. The Portuguese soldier did not behave in the same way, but finding himself alone with me flung himself at my feet in floods of tears. He entreated me in the name of our Holy Virgin and St. Antony not to send him away without according him the favour he asked: so, seeing his perfect humility and real sincerity, I gave him Absolution, after which he did all he could to oblige me to render the same favour to his comrades. I could not possibly do this in the house without great risk of discovery, so I told him that, if his comrades really wished to confess, they could go secretly to a little wood about a cannon-shot outside Pulicat, where there was a pagoda and a Hindu house. It was on my road, and I promised to stop there and give them what they wished with more liberty.

Hardly had this man left my room than I was told that the French doctor, with whom I had had a long conversation the preceding night, wished to see me with two Dutchmen. As I was unable to defend myself from such visits, I was obliged to let them enter. I saw at once that it was a Dutch minister[1] with his clerk, who came to argue with me on ridiculous propositions about our Sacraments, and other points of our religion. Whereupon I informed them in a very few words that I had come here only because I was obliged to do so, and that I had enough worries without disputes on religion with them; nor did I wish to exercise my functions in the Catholic Church. I only waited here for my passport from the commandant. The minister, who was a young fool, was very pleased at showing me he knew some three words of Latin. He uttered many impertinences to show his superiority, and gave me, as the best proof of this, the information that the conversion of this worthy French doctor was one of his doings: on which I felt obliged to say that I did not believe him, as I was assured that it was his predecessor's daughter who, more clever than he was, had accomplished this work of which he boasted, and that she had been rewarded by the possession of the goods she had brought to their Church. To this the minister did not know what

[1] This may have been Johannes Breyl, who (according to Havart, I, 132) came to Pulicat as the factory minister in 1672 or 1673. He is described as a good-living, honourable, diligent man, of exemplary doctrine.

to say, and was the object of ridicule to his own clerk and to the doctor, who were listening to our dialogue. Finally, after spending a miserable hour with these three absurd people, one of my servants, whom I had sent to the commandant to beg an interview, came with the reply that M. the 'second' had given orders for my passport, and that I could leave when I wished. I immediately shook off these three men, who were annoying me very much. They entered the sick man's room, where they were better received than in mine, and I went at once to the house of the Dutch 'second' who received me very politely. He told me what the Portuguese had said to him that morning on the subject of our quarrel, and he begged me not to bear any resentment against the man. We had two glasses of excellent wine, while his Moor secretary sent me my passport on a palm-leaf,[1] which was taken to the Avaldar[2] for signature. On my return home, I prepared all my equipage as quickly as possible.

About ten o'clock in the morning I left the Dutch fortress with an inward joy that I dared not show till I was out of sight of this place, where the hours and minutes seemed years to me. The town of Pulicat is situated in a dry and arid spot on a burning plain.[3] The Dutch fortress, which is only for the garrison and officers of the Company, forms its principal part; the rest is inhabited by Moors and Hindus, engaged in trade. The Dutch have certain privileges and rights, and the avaldar, a Moor officer, has his also.[4] The fortress is small, and surrounded by a ditch, filled with water

[1] The broad stiff leaves of the Palmyra (called olas) were then (as for ages past) in common use by the natives of that part of India for letters, orders, etc. The writing on them was done without ink by scratching them with iron pens: cf. Hobson-Jobson, *s.v. Ollah*.

[2] MS. *aouldard*, from Pers. *hawāldār*, one holding an office of trust: 'avaldar' was generally the form of it then used by the English on the Coromandel coast for an Indian governor.

[3] Baldaeus similarly says (Churchill's *Voyages*, III, 654): 'the grounds about Pulicat are very nitrous, sandy, and unfit to produce anything in great quantity'.

[4] Pulicat was then in the Golconda kingdom. That state's representative, the Avaldar, had his own fort and jurisdiction (Love, I, 268; Hamilton, I, 204): thus petty disputes were decided by him and the employees of the Company (Manucci, II, 387). On the other hand the Dutch were (as already mentioned in connection with their factory at Golconda) given many privileges, were recognised as the sole owners of Fort Geldria, and had some neighbouring villages assigned to them (Manucci, II, 386–7; Love, I 410; Schouten, I, 489ff., cited in Bowrey, p. 52).

and well kept. The commandant generally lives there with some companies of soldiers, of which hardly one-third are Europeans.[1] The other officers, both civil and military, all live in a building facing a large square, where there are two rows of young evergreen trees, which give shade all the year round in front of these buildings. There are also shops and soldiers' quarters, entirely surrounded by a ditch and palisades, flanked by earth bastions,[2] which had been thrown up hastily only five months before, when they had received news of the war in Europe. The town on one side adjoins the officers' quarters, and lies along the bank of a large river very useful for the transport of goods, being not far from the sea. The surroundings are not beautiful, being sandy plains which give out an intense heat from the rays of the sun, so that it is very unpleasant to march there during the day.

This did not, however, prevent me from setting out in the greatest heat of the day, finding nothing too difficult or troublesome that would take me away from a place where I was in constant dread of being imprisoned for some years, as would have been my certain fate, if they had discovered who I was. I finally arrived at a little wood, by which I was hidden from the town. There I was met by ten Portuguese soldiers, who had secretly escaped from the fortress according to the directions I had given them to meet me here. I stopped here nearly two hours, and heard all their confessions in a retired spot. They all seemed to wish to follow me, and to leave the Dutch service, but we should have had to pass two villages, in which there were guards posted and spies put by the Dutch to watch all passers-by. I did not wish to get myself imprudently into yet a second labyrinth, seeing that I had escaped from the first one so fortunately. After a little talk on the Sacraments which I had given them and on what they had to do for conscience' sake among these Calvinists, I sent them all back, though I was indeed deeply grieved at not being able to take them with me. They all came with tears in their eyes to kiss my

[1] For plans of Fort Geldria, see Baldaeus in Churchill's *Voyages*, III, 653, and Havart, I, 104–5. The latter says the garrison ordinarily numbered 125 men; Tavernier (*Travels*, I, 214) puts its number at about 200; and Baldaeus (*op. cit.*, 589) at from 80 to 90. Perhaps the last figures were those of the European garrison only.

[2] Havart's plan of Fort Geldria shows quarters for officers, etc., to the south of it, and refers to three rows of trees and a square near them (cf. *C.H.I.*, V, 38). Outer walls, bastions, and a ditch are also shown on it.

hand and bid me farewell. As soon as I had re-entered my palanquin, I ordered my people to march as quickly as possible in order to finish the little bit of road that remained of my long journey.

We marched until nightfall, when we arrived at Walour [Vallūr], a large aldea, agreeably situated in the middle of a long wood of palm-trees.[1] Its environs were embellished with many gardens and fields, watered by a lovely river, which gave freshness to the air by flowing in many canals and small channels through the large wood, round the village, and in the neighbouring country. We stayed the night in this place; but the inhabitants, all Hindus, kept up processions the whole time with howls and appalling noises, while carrying their idols round their pagoda and the village.

Friday, 14 *April*. We marched at dawn over sandy country, shaded in many places by palm-trees and little woods, which surround several villages. These are all watered by an infinite number of little streams, which fertilise and enrich them. About three o'clock in the afternoon I at last arrived at Madras. I was stopped at the first gate and argued with the guard of lascarins at Fort St. George to ask the Governor for permission to enter. I waited half an hour without any reply and, finding myself inconvenienced by this, I sent one of the guards with a note to the Rev. Father Ephraim, a French Capuchin. He asked him who I was, and came at once to find me, taking me to their house, which is in the best part of the town.[2] There I found M. d'Esterville, an infantry captain,[3] and some other French officers from St. Thomé, who had come to buy provisions in Madras. These gentlemen showed great pleasure at my arrival, and told me that the Viceroy [de la Haye], who had received the duplicates from the French Court, sent him

[1] Vallur, which is 14 miles from Pulicat and 10 miles from Madras, lies near the R. Cotteliar.

[2] Father Ephraim first came to Madras in 1642 and was allowed to officiate as pastor there in a church adjacent to the Fort (Love, I, 48–9). In 1688, and probably long before that year, he had a house in Middle street, one of the best streets in White Town (ibid. 537–8). In 1652 he had brought to Madras another Capuchin Father, Zenon de Baugé (ibid. 104).

[3] M. d'Esterville (otherwise Estreville or Éterville) was Lieutenant of de la Haye's guards at St. Thomé (*Journal du Voyage des Grandes Indes*, II, 67). That Journal corroborates his having come to Madras for provisions by an entry (II, 69) that sufficient provisions had come from there to St. Thomé on 14–16 April. The book is cited hereafter as *Journal*.

from Surat (vol. I, p. 150), had been very anxious at my long delay on the road: there was even a rumour that I had been made prisoner at Golconda by the Moors. They also said he had left St. Thomé four days before, with three ships for a great expedition against the Moors.[1]

After I had rested a little time, the officers informed me that they were soon returning to St. Thomé, and that the way there was not very safe, because of the Moors; after abandoning the siege of that place, they had withdrawn into the country, but still, from time to time, made attacks on the roads to Madras and in those places where we generally obtained provisions,[2] so a strong escort was always necessary for a secure passage. I did not wish to miss this opportunity of getting safely to St. Thomé, and about four o'clock in the afternoon I left in my palanquin with our French officers, who had their baggage carried in front of them, escorted by some French soldiers and lascarins of the garrison. We marched the whole time along the seashore, and arrived at St. Thomé in half an hour.[3] I was conducted to the house of M. Derebery [de Rebrey], the Governor of the place,[4] who received me with all possible courtesy and friendship. I stayed some days with him, as there was no other suitable lodging in the town that was not occupied by persons belonging to the garrison.

[1] De la Haye had embarked with some troops in the *Breton* on 10 April, and sailed early next morning with the *Flamand* and a ketch for an attack on Masulipatam, with the object of putting pressure on the King of Golconda to come to terms over the French occupation of St. Thomé (*Journal*, II, 67–8; Kaeppelin, 104; Love, I, 326).

[2] Golconda troops had withdrawn from their camp about 12 March (*Journal*, II, 62). That they were, however, still active in the neighbourhood of Madras is shown by an entry of 20 March (ibid. 64), as well as by subsequent entries of 17 and 24 April (ibid. 69–70) as to attacks on the road to Madras.

[3] The *Journal* (ii, 70) says that Carré's arrival at St. Thomé was on 28 April; but (apart from Carré's own statement which there is no reason to doubt) this must be a mistake, due perhaps to the diarist only learning of it on that date, as on 29 April Martin says (I, 461) he heard of it from de la Haye, who had received letters from St. Thomé giving this among other news. Both Martin and de la Haye were then at Masulipatam, a distance of over 200 miles from St. Thomé.

[4] His name is spelt 'de Rebré' in the *Journal* (I, 248, etc.) and 'de Rebrey' by Martin (i, 343, etc.). He was an infantry captain, who had distinguished himself in the capture of St. Thomé, and was made its Governor on 25 July 1672 (*Journal*, I, 248–50; Delestre, 172; Love, i, 312, 315; cf. p. 378 *post*).

CHAPTER III

REVIEW OF PROCEEDINGS OF THE FRENCH FLEET, ETC. (March 1670–July 1672)

Saturday, 15 *April* 1673. I received civilities and visits from all the officers, as well as from soldiers, sailors, and the whole town in general. They came to see me as if I were a marvel, having learnt that I had come from France by the land-route. I bore witness to them all of the care the King, their master, took of them, saying that I had been sent by His Majesty to assure them that all would be well rewarded for their services and the fatigues they had suffered, while upholding the glories of his arms. I informed them that a ship, the *Soleil d'Orient*, had left France long before I did, laden with silver for them,[1] and that much help was being sent from Europe to relieve them, so that they could some day return to France covered with glory and oriental laurels. Consequently my arrival was the cause of much joy and general satisfaction to these poor Frenchmen, who for a year had suffered all the trials, fatigues, and troubles of war, with a firmness and constancy worthy of reward and never to be forgotten. I assured those who were left of these brave sons of Mars that, after all the marvellous things they had done, there was not one of them who did not deserve to command a whole army. M. de Rebrey was the first among our Frenchmen to lead the way into the town at the head of his company, his sword in one hand and a scaling-ladder in the other. He was made governor of the town as a reward, and since then had done superhuman things in its defence, though he had not yet recovered from a wound by a musket-shot. MM. d'Esterville, de Tivernon, de Rochambeau, infantry captains, as well as lieutenants, ensigns, sergeants, cadets, soldiers, and even our ships' companies, all bore the gory marks of the valiant courage which they had shown to the envy of all.[2] There were wounded soldiers

[1] The *Soleil d'Orient* left France on 12 March 1672, but did not reach Surat till 4 November 1673. She brought 500,000 écus for the needs of de la Haye's squadron (*Journal*, II, 133; Kaeppelin, 115, 654; Bombay let. 6 Nov. 1673, F.R., 6 Bom. 249).

[2] Captain de Rochambeau is mentioned in the *Journal* (II, 4, 180) and by Martin (I, 659), who spells the name Rochambaut. Capt. d'Estreville had been wounded by a musket-shot in the cheek (Martin, I, 429). As to de Tivernon, see p. 472 *post*.

everywhere: some with sabre-cuts on their faces; some pierced in many places by lances, halberds, and javelins; others still had within their bodies the balls which hit them, and which no surgeon had been able to extract; while many had lost limbs through cannon-shots, grenades, and other fire-arms. I was amazed to see that the misery and suffering of these brave Frenchmen, far from depressing them, had caused them only joy and satisfaction at having done their duty and upheld the glory and renown of their great King in this oriental country. They told me of their combats, their sorties, and encounters with the enemy. They also said that they were ready to give their lives for the service and glory of their king, and would die happy and satisfied, if they could receive some help from France to maintain and preserve the reputation they had so well gained and kept, when they had certainly the evident assistance of Heaven.

Why! this handful of Frenchmen had, in an unknown country, for eight months defied all the forces of the most powerful Eastern king. They had made sorties nearly every day against an army of 50,000 well-armed warriors who pass for the best soldiers in the East. Twenty Frenchmen have been known to have repelled thousands of Moors,[1] and made trophies [*sic*] of their dead; they regained trenches and works, which stagger imagination; and lastly took and kept the finest place in India [St. Thomé], in spite of all the efforts of the enemy and the mad jealousy of the other Europeans. These are things that were hardly credible, and were so astonishing that the whole East now rang with the glory, bravery, and the terrible deeds of the French.[2]

All this compels me to say that during the few years that the French have been in India, they would, if their ships and the people they have sent from France had been handled by men of real ability and zeal for the glory of their nation and King, have been able to conquer the whole East and become masters of all the trade done there, which enriches other parts of the world. I say

[1] Thus the *Journal* gives an instance of 16 men repelling 400 Moors (II, 23); and Martin (I, 397–8) one of a valiant attack on 2,000 Moors by a force mostly consisting of two companies of soldiers and 200 sailors.

[2] This is corroborated by Manucci (III, 284), who after a reference to de la Haye, says that 'the French during their stay in India always bear themselves so boldy and valiantly that they gain the respect of everybody, and hold preeminence over the other nations of Europe'. He also (IV, 270–1) recounts a story showing how the fame of de la Haye had spread through Hindustan.

again that the French here, who employed their forces and finances uselessly, could have done what the Portuguese accomplished formerly, and been as successful as the Dutch are today in this country. But they failed from a want of experience and a lack of intelligent and devoted persons to conduct the good plans and fine enterprises of our people in suitable localities, where they could have made great progress; and the French amused themselves by sending out fleets, people, and immense sums of money, to establish factories in useless and unhealthy places. Far from gaining any profits, they were obliged to make great outlays, and lost nearly everybody sent out, as well as most of their ships.

M. the Marshal de la Milleraye was the first who sent out ships and people to the island of Madagascar.[1] He hoped to accomplish marvels, founded on wild plans which deserved more blame than praise. He gave out that everything was going on well: this was all imagination and quite false, when one thinks of the results and the lack of any profits.[2] On these foundations and wild hopes the Royal Company of France was formed. It sent out a large fleet under the command of M. de Mont[de]vergue as Viceroy, with many worthy directors and officers of the Company. They brought with them immense sums of money which were exhausted both by the length of the voyage from lack of experienced pilots, and from the want of common sense and skill by those who directed this enterprise.[3] They stopped at Madagascar, where they

[1] The Duke de la Meilleraye was the chief shareholder and director in the old company called de l'Orient, as reorganised in 1656. It sent an expedition to Madagascar under the command of M. de Champmargou, who administered Fort Dauphin in 1660–5. This was not, however, the first attempt at French colonisation of Madagascar. In 1642 two agents of the same Company established themselves in the bay of Ste. Luce and built Fort Dauphin in the south-east of the island. (Larousse, *Grande Enc.*, XXII, 915; Kaeppelin, 2–3, 8).

[2] Champmargou at first established good relations with his Malagasy neighbours, but later quarrelled with one of his agents, La Case, of whose success he was jealous. The latter joined a king in the interior and married his daughter; a troublesome war resulted (Larousse, XXII, 915). The Duke de la Meilleraye died in 1663, and the old Company transferred its assets to the new East India Company (Kaeppelin, 8).

[3] After the establishment of the above Company in 1664, it sent a fleet of ten vessels to Madagascar under the command of the Marquis de Montdevergue, with two directors, MM. de Faye and Caron, and more than a million livres in goods and bullion. The squadron left La Rochelle on 14 March 1666, and after going out of its way to Brazil, reached Madagascar on 10 March 1667 (Kaeppelin, 6–7, 12, 14, 20, 653).

spent the rest of the money, and by loss of men and vessels achieved their own ruin.[1]

M. Caron, the director-general, was the only one in this fleet who had any knowledge or experience of India. He left Madagascar with a single ship, the *St. Jean Baptiste,* and went to Surat in the year 1668.[2] He was well received by the governor and principal officials of the Great Mughal,[3] and there he laid the first foundations of the Royal Company of the East Indies. He established a factory, engaged brokers, and began trade with the cargo of the *St. Jean*, which he then sent back to France, laden with rich merchandise from India.[4] But, alas, with the usual fatality of our nation, hardly had we begun to make progress than the unfortunate French nature asserted itself. I mean that the discords, quarrels, disobedience, and fights one against the other, were so great that the other European companies, who had begun to feel jealous of our establishment, conceived a firm hope that our fine enterprises would not last long. They said openly that it was not necessary to oppose our trade, as we were destroying it ourselves by the disagreement and disorders that had arisen amongst us.[5] There was nothing but disobedience and revolts against the Chiefs, resulting in imprisonments and furious intrigues. Some were sent back to Fort Dauphin with reams of complaints and proceedings, which gave the supreme council at Madagascar much occupation. Others were arrested and put in irons.[6] All this led finally to the

[1] The Montdevergue squadron in the course of its long voyage consumed all its provisions, and the Company had to spend 60,000 livres on a fleet to relieve it. Montdevergue complained bitterly of the impossibility of colonising Fort Dauphin on account of its insalubrity, and asked that no one else should be sent out (Kaeppelin, 16, 20, 22, 47; Martin, I, 88–9).

[2] Caron left Madagascar in October 1667 in the *St. Jean Baptiste,* and on 13 February 1668 arrived at Surat, bringing merchandise and bullion worth over 600,000 livres (Kaeppelin, 20, 22; Martin, I, 106).

[3] The way for this favourable reception had been prepared by M. Béber, who in September 1667 obtained a farman from the Emperor, permitting the French to trade at Surat on the same terms as the Dutch and English (*C.H.I.*, V, 66; *E.F.*, 1665–7, 268; Manucci, IV, 432; Kaeppelin, 63 *n.* 1).

[4] Caron sent the *St. Jean* to France in January 1669 (Kaeppelin, 55–6, 654; *E.F.*, 1668–9, 185).

[5] These quarrels started immediately after Caron's arrival at Surat; and Sir George Oxinden, the English President, reported in April 1668 that the French credit there had been 'totally overthrowne' (Kaeppelin, 55; *E.F.*, 1668–9, 3).

[6] Thus the Armenian, Marcara, who had been engaged in Paris because of

total ruin of our affairs. That is what was sown by the first French in India in 1668; and now for the sequel.

In March of the following year, 1669, I saw the arrival of three other Company's ships at Surat, the *Marie,* the *Aigle d'Or,* and the *Force,* with a second director-general, M. Defaye [de Faye], accompanied by several councillors, merchants, and officers of the Company.[1] Some were to be sent to other factories; some to trade on board ships in foreign oriental kingdoms. Most of these gentlemen were new and ignorant of the local customs and trade. They applied themselves for the most part to their own private profit. They received gifts and loans, and followed the advice of the local merchants and brokers, who gave them the means of carrying on trade that benefited themselves instead of the Company. But there! I am not surprised at this, for it is impossible to inspire any disinterestedness in people who were accustomed to spend at once any money they earned on debauchery, feasting and gambling, and to lead licentious lives. No! such persons were fit only for the employment for which they were first intended on leaving France, to found colonies in sterile and wild countries like Madagascar, Brazil, and the West Indies; but for the East Indies it is necessary to have honest men of intelligence, accustomed to discipline, and devoted to the Company's service. In my journal of the earlier years I have shown very clearly the effect created by such people in this oriental country. The long voyages mentioned there, and others that have followed, show the want of experience of our navigators; and one can still see today the same lack of knowledge and common sense in those who govern our affairs. They lose our ships in Indian ports after immense expenses, for they let them perish there for want of a little foresight and good management in our business. I shall show all this in its proper place.

The director-general M. Caron was the only person who could maintain everything on a proper footing, and he gave an impetus to all our Indian trade by his practical knowledge of oriental

his experience, was put in irons by Caron and sent with others to Madagascar on various charges (Kaeppelin, 48–9, 55; Martin, I, 105, 138, 140–4).

[1] The three ships mentioned by Carré reached Surat on 10 March 1669, and brought de Faye, François Martin, and others from France and Madagascar. The *Aigle d'Or* and the *Force* had stayed at Fort Dauphin from August to October 1668; the *Marie* belonged to the expedition of 1666 (Kaeppelin, 49, 56–7; Martin, I, 194).

countries. In spite of the opposition and chicanery of the other Chiefs—his competitors who had been sent from France—his first enterprises were fairly successful. He, therefore, made large plans for more trade in the best places in the East. In order to carry them out he wrote to France for assistance in people, money, and ships. His Majesty and the Company, delighted at seeing that things were succeeding so splendidly, went to great expense to send out a considerable fleet, which left France in 1670. It was quite capable of conquering the whole of the East, if it had been well commanded. I will now show all its plans and enterprises, to indicate the essential faults which seem ever to persist in the undertakings of our nation. Moreover I have always remarked, during the ten years I have been at sea,[1] that in all our dock-yards there is none of the vigilance necessary for refitting our ships, and for their lading and equipment, in proper time. There are always so much disorder, confusion, and useless expense, owing to the want of supervision and experience on the part of the officers appointed to command these ships, that they are not ready to sail in the season of the favourable winds, or else, if they do sail in time, they are obliged to put back into port after their departure for many grave defects, which always occur in ships that are not carefully overhauled before leaving. All this causes loss of merchandise, equipment, and sometimes even of the ship, to the great detriment of those interested in the fleet, as I shall show later on.

His Majesty's royal fleet, destined for the East Indies,[2] was ready to sail and left La Rochelle in the beginning of March 1670. There were nine ships, viz. the *Navarre,* the flag-ship, commanded by M. de la Haye, His Majesty's Lieutenant-general in all the East, and under him M. de Turelle, commodore; the *Tryomphe* [*Triomphe*], vice-admiral, commanded by M. Foran [Forrand]; the *Julles* [*Jules*], rear-admiral, by M. de Deluchet [de Luché]; the *Flamand* by M. Dumainne [Dumayne]; the *St. Joan* [*Jean*] *de Bayonne* by M. Desmarais [Desmarets] Gabaret; the *Diligente* by M. de la Houssaye; the *Sultanne* [*Sultane*] by M. de Beaulieu; the

[1] Carré's statement that he had been ten years at sea shows he must have started his voyages in 1663, when he was about 23 or 24 years old (see vol. I, p. xxi).

[2] Martin (I, 304, 316) likewise says that the fleet, under the King's orders, was prepared for a voyage to the Indies (*les Indes*), to support the French Company: cf. latter part of *n.* 2 at p. 386 *post*.

Indienne by M. de l'estrille, called laclide [de la Clide]; and the *Europe* by M. Despré [Desprez]. This fleet was to be joined by three of the Company's ships, the *Vautour*, the *Dauphin*, and the *Phoenix*, which were being fitted out in the harbour of Port Louis.[1] On leaving La Rochelle the royal squadron was obliged to anchor off Bel Isle [Belle Île], where seven or eight days were lost in waiting for the Company's ships. None of them was ready to set sail at this season, the latest in which one can leave for India. His Majesty's squadron left Belle Île at the end of March,[2] and had been hardly fifteen days at sea when the *Sultane* was obliged to leave the fleet,[3] and put into a Portuguese port to repair her masts, which were too long and not in a fit state for a voyage. A few days afterwards, when the squadron was only half-way to Cape Verde, the *Triomphe*, vice-admiral, was found to have unshipped her rudder, which is the most vital part of a ship; and it was thus impossible to navigate her. The *Indienne* was obliged to tow the ship into Lisbon to be overhauled and rendered fit for the voyage to India,[4] so that the fleet, which ought to have been twelve sail on leaving France, was reduced to six in the open sea.

Three days after the vice-admiral had left the fleet, he met a Dutch squadron of thirty-six ships, of which twenty-eight were merchantmen and the rest acting as escort; the latter carried the flags of admiral, vice-admiral, and rear-admiral. Our poor ship, the *Triomphe*, and its consort, the *Indienne*, thus found themselves in the middle of this fleet. They approached the Dutch admiral's ship, which the captain of the *Triomphe*, M. Foran, hailed. The Dutch admiral sent over a boat [MS. *chaloupe*],[5] with a lieutenant,

[1] The fleet left La Rochelle on 29 March 1670. Of the nine royal vessels, the *Diligente* was a frigate, and the *Sultane*, *Europe*, and *Indienne*, were flutes, i.e. store-ships. The other five were men-of-war (*Journal*, 1--2; Kaeppelin, 654). The names of the commanders agree with those in the *Journal* subject to the variations in spelling shown in brackets.

[2] The *Journal* (1, 2–5) confirms the useless stay at Belle Île for the Company's ships, but it was later than Carré thought, viz. from 31 March to 11 April.

[3] The *Journal* (1, 6) gives the night of 16 April as the time when the *Sultane* left the fleet for a reason then unknown to the other ships.

[4] The *Journal* (1, 10) confirms that the *Triomphe's* rudder needed repairs, and says that the *Indienne's* mast and bowsprit had received injuries, so both vessels left the squadron for Lisbon on 2 May.

[5] The word 'chaloupe' has 'shallop' as its English derivative, but this is now

who was received on board the French ship with a salute of many guns to the good health of, and happy meeting with, the Dutch commander. After some hours of feasting and conferences, the Dutch lieutenant returned on board his flag-ship. The commander, on learning that the cannon-shots from the French ship were only in his honour while drinking his health, asked the French captain to salute his flag. This was done at once with fifteen guns for the admiral, seven for the vice-admiral, and five for the rear-admiral. The Dutch admiral returned only fifteen guns and, in recognition of the civility which the French captain had just paid to the Dutch flag, sent over a boat, filled with cheese, butter, and Dutch beer. This was a good refreshment for the ship's voyage to Lisbon, where she arrived two days later. The *Sultane* was already there, being overhauled and repaired. These three ships were thus made ready for their voyage with expense which could have been avoided before the fleet's departure by a little foresight and inspection. They left Lisbon together and kept company to St. Jague [São Thiago, the largest of the Cape Verde islands], where they were not able to agree on the route to be taken. In spite of the express order of M. de la Haye as to the places at which they were to touch in order to get news of the fleet, they all separated and went on different courses: some followed their orders, others their own caprices and the resolve they had formed to go to Brazil and elsewhere for their own interests, instead of on the King's service, without troubling themselves as to the harm this delay and long voyage would cause to the business and efficiency of their fleet.

Fifteen days were lost at Cape Verde, while the admiral waited for these three ships.[1] He left letters and orders in case they passed there, and went straight to the Bay of Saldaigne [Saldanha], near the Cape of Good Hope, where the fleet stayed for six weeks to re-victual and wait for the three missing ships, which (as I have just said) were absent, having gone off on different routes. This obliged the squadron to make for the Isle Dauphinne [Madagas-

almost obsolete on this side of the Atlantic, so here and elsewhere *chaloupe* is translated by 'boat', 'ship's boat', 'longboat', or other suitable equivalent.

[1] According to the *Journal* (I, 17–23) the fleet stayed at Cape Verde from 23 May to 9 June, and most of the time was spent in getting provisions, etc. On 6 June it was decided to wait some further time to see if any news came of the three ships.

car], where they happily arrived eight months after their departure from France.[1] Much time was lost at this island, which is the ruin of crews and ships that are sent there. The chiefs and officers of this second fleet did not yet know for what they were destined, what India meant, or the plans made there, so in order to distract themselves, they began a war, useless and very prejudicial to the important affairs in India that was the object of this expedition.[2] It would have been very fortunate for their affairs at this time when there was no shadow of a war in Europe, if they had gone straight to Surat, where they would have found M. Caron disposed and ready to carry out the great plans he had so long contemplated. The result would doubtless have been a glorious success and quite different to the actual sequel, due to things being begun too late and at a bad time. This I shall show in the following pages.

His Majesty's fleet arrived at the Isle Dauphinne, as if it was the sole object of its voyage. M. de la Haye knew nothing about the climate, people, or the soil of this dangerous island, Madagascard [*sic*]. He prepared for a war, which he wished to command in person with the élite and flower of his forces. He wanted to fight and seize a man called Ramouset, who was formerly a slave of the French, and who, to amuse himself, took great pleasure in drawing our general and his fine army across a hundred dangerous rivers, among rocks, deserts, and mountains, so rough and troublesome that the general, after pursuing this miserable Ramouset for some months, gained nothing but a dangerous illness for himself, which was almost fatal.[3] About 1,000 Frenchmen were

[1] De la Haye stopped from 25 August to 8 October at Saldanha Bay (some 60 miles N. by W. of Cape Town), where he got provisions and hoisted the French flag for a proposed settlement by the French Company (Kaeppelin, 29; Martin, I, 304: *Journal*, I, 34–9). He arrived at Fort Dauphin on 23 November 1670 (*Journal*, I, 43; Kaeppelin, 50). The French had renamed the island 'l'isle Dauphine.'

[2] Kaeppelin, p. 51, says that de la Haye 'rekindled the war in the island', and cites a passage from a report by Carré to Colbert as to Madagascar being the ruin of the men and vessels sent to it. His statement as to the ignorance of the officers of the fleet seems to mean little more than that they did not sufficiently realise the importance of hastening to India. The instructions to de la Haye specifically required him to go to Surat after a month or six weeks at Madagascar, in order to support the French Company there, and consult its directors (Delort, *Revue Maritime, &c.*, XLVII, 38; *C.H.I.*, V, 66–7; Kaeppelin, 80–1).

[3] The *Journal* (I, 54–9) contains entries in January 1671 regarding de la Haye's

lost,[1] without counting the consumption of the squadron's provisions, as well as the loss of time which was more important than anything else, for M. Caron, who was then at Surat, and was to command the squadron in all its enterprises and plans, did not know of its arrival in Madagascar, no news of it having been received. He was preparing for a voyage to Bantam, just at the time when the squadron ought to have left to join him at Surat.[2]

During the fleet's stay at Fort Dauphin, the three Company's ships, which had left France a little before the fleet, were in a state difficult to believe. They had all taken different routes. The *Dauphin* went to Mozambique and stayed there six months. The *Phoenix* went to the Bay of Saldanha, and as nearly all her crew had died, she would have perished there, if the *Indienne* had not joined her, having obeyed the orders to put in there to revictual. By great good fortune they found the other ship there, and saved twenty-one men from perdition.[3] They all went together to Fort Dauphin, where the royal ships, *Triomphe* and *Sultane*, arrived almost at the same time. These two ships had spent a month in Brazil, and brought from there a quantity of sugar and tobacco, which was very acceptable to the squadron.[4] Finally there only remained the *Vautour*, which did not touch at Fort Dauphin, and was the first to reach Surat on 21 February 1671, the same day on which I boarded an English ship in the Surat roadstead.[5] She left

expedition against Ramouset, a native headman, who refused to come to Fort Dauphin to pay his respects to de la Haye. Martin (1, 306) and Kaeppelin (51) criticise it as unnecessary and unfortunate. The Admiral's serious illness from colic and fever is also mentioned in the *Journal* (1, 55, 57, 60, 61).

[1] Kaeppelin (51) puts the French loss at 'some hundreds', and in a footnote says 'L'abbé Carré dit 1,000, mais il exagère fortement'.

[2] Caron left for Bantam at the end of March 1671, and returned to Surat in November 1671 (Kaeppelin, 65, 80; Delestre, 34).

[3] This is corroborated by the *Journal*, 1, 62, which says that the captain of the *Indienne* found almost the whole crew of the *Phoenix* dead, and that the latter would not have been able to continue her voyage, had he not given six men to help her.

[4] The *Indienne*, *Phoenix*, and *Triomphe*, reached Fort Dauphin on 6, 14, and 19 Feb. 1671 respectively (*Journal*, 1, 62, 63), and the *Sultane* about 14 March (Delort, *Revue Maritime, &c.*, XLVII, 41). On 22 February de la Haye put Captain Foran under arrest for taking the *Triomphe* to Brazil, contrary to his orders (*Journal*, 1, 64; Martin, 1, 305).

[5] Cf. vol. 1, p. xxiv. According to a letter from the English factory at Surat written in April 1671, the *Vautour* arrived on 8 February, corresponding to about 18 February (N.S.): F.R., O.C. 3566.

the next day for Persia, whence I continued my journey by land to return to France.

The Company's ship, the *Aigle d'Or*, left Surat on 8 January 1671 for France. M. Caron had given strict orders that this ship was not to touch at Fort Dauphin for fear of losing the voyage by unnecessary delay. Ignoring these orders, she stopped at the island, while the French squadron was still there, and took back to France some discontented officers of the fleet who did not wish to continue the voyage, or to take part in its operations. They were M. Foran, captain of the vice-admiral [i.e. the *Triomphe*]; M. de Vilerceau [Villarseau], captain of the bodyguards of M. de la Haye; M. du Menillet, major [of the squadron]; and de la Houssaye, captain of the *Indienne* [*sic* ? *Diligente*].[1] They all embarked in the *Aigle d'Or*, which on account of her stay at Fort Dauphin lost the favourable wind that would have taken her round the Cape of Good Hope, so she sheltered at Fort Dauphin and nearly two years went between her departure from Surat and her arrival in France.[2] This was a great disadvantage to the Company, who hardly made enough on her merchandise to pay the expenses of so long a voyage.

Besides the loss to the Company of the officers who had resigned, there were also some who died: M. de Beaulieu, captain of the *Sultane*, was the first, as he had not strength enough to cross the equinoctial line, where he met his end; afterwards M. de Luchet, captain of the *Jules*, found a grave in Madagascar with M. d'Autygny, infantry captain, and many other junior officers.[3] The deaths of these brave officers, together with the loss of more than 1,000 soldiers in the war against Ramouset, was a great check and a severe blow to our squadron, as it is impossible to recruit men there for the service. Later I shall show the consequences of this and the detriment caused elsewhere.

[1] The *Journal* (1. 76, 80) shows that the *Aigle d'Or* was at Fort Dauphin on 1 July 1671, and that on 11 August the four officers named by Carré were given leave to take their passage to France in her or the *Couronne*, a vessel of the Montdevergue squadron that was returning thither.

[2] The *Aigle d'Or* reached France in August 1672 (vol. 1, p. 19*n*.), so the actual time between her arrival there and her departure from Surat was about 1 year and 7 months.

[3] M. de Beaulieu had died before the arrival of the *Sultane* at Fort Dauphin (*Journal*, 1, 65); the deaths of the other two in Madagascar are recorded (ibid. 46, 52) as well as of four more officers (59, 60). Martin (1, 306) similarly states that a quantity of officers and men died there.

His Majesty's fleet, having stayed nine months in Fort Dauphin without doing anything considerable, finally resolved to leave for India, and set sail about the end of July 1671.[1] It passed to the west of the island of St. Lawrence, and only stayed five days at the island of Anjouan, to the north of the Isle Dauphinne, to take in provisions.[2] It then sailed north to Sacatora [Sokotra] at the entrance of the Red Sea, and arrived at Surat at the end of September of the same year, 1671.[3] M. Caron was not there, for (as I said before) he had sailed to Bantam. The squadron was obliged to stay deteriorating for more than three months in the port of Soualy [Swally] to await the return of this director, without whom nothing could be done. He alone had the knowledge and means to make a success of the various plans and magnificent undertakings which they hoped to carry out in this oriental country.[4]

The arrival of such a powerful fleet struck terror all over the Indies; everyone discussed it according to his own ideas and wishes. Some were delighted; others were amazed that the French in so short a time since their appearance in India had been able to make such great plans and to assemble so powerful a fleet of warships. But the Dutch succeeded best for their own ends. They saw the Moors and [other] people of the country were quite bewildered and easy to persuade, so they spread a rumour secretly that the French intended to abandon all their trade here, seeing they could not succeed in it, and had, therefore, brought out this fleet as corsairs, who would pillage all Indian ships and prevent any commerce. The governor of Surat and the principal officers of the Mughal were consequently cold and unfriendly, and made difficulties in supplying provisions and other necessities for the

[1] The fleet began preparations to leave at the end of July, but did not actually sail till 11 August 1671 (*Journal*, 79, 80). It had arrived on 23 November 1670, so its stay lasted eight months and ten days. Martin (1, 306–7) also criticises its long stay.

[2] Madagascar was called the Isle of St. Lawrence, because it was sighted by a Portuguese fleet on St. Lawrence's day, 10 August 1506 (St. Martin, *Géographie Universelle*, III, 518; Fryer, 1, 54*n*.). Anjouan is Johanna, one of the Comoro islands. The fleet stayed there from 28 Aug. to 3 Sept. (*Journal*, 1, 95–6).

[3] The actual date on which the fleet reached Swally seems to have been 21 September, O.S., i.e. 1 October, N.S. (*E.F.*, 1, 215; cf. Martin, 1, 307 as to its arriving 'in the month of October 1671').

[4] Similarly Martin (1, 303) says that the French Court and Company believed that Caron was the only man capable of establishing the commerce of that nation in India.

fleet.[1] Our general, M. de la Haye, hearing of this, made every effort to keep our officers on board the ships, in order to prevent the soldiers and sailors going ashore at Surat, for fear of trouble with the Moors. Though the Dutch had by underhand ways tried everything possible to hinder our progress in India, still our fleet did not fail to cause them surprise; they noticed that its destination was to be settled on M. Caron's return, and did not doubt that it was intended for the support of great aims and enterprises bound to be most prejudicial to their commerce in the best and most important places in the Indies, of which they realised M. Caron had complete knowledge and information. Consequently the Dutch took advantage of the time lost by the fleet owing to the absence of that director. They at once sent to fortify all their settlements, and gathered all their forces in India to equip a fleet of fifteen ships, which they kept in the neighbourhood of Ceylon, this being the most important of their possessions in the East, as on it depended all their power and best trade in these countries. They were, therefore, on their guard and ready to oppose any designs or enterprises of our fleet, if it ever tried to put a nose into the places where the Dutch had established themselves.[2] The Portuguese, though allies of the French and the only Christians in this eastern country, could not bear the idea of a French Viceroy in

[1] We have not traced any confirmation of Carré's allegation against the Dutch that they spread a false rumour which led to Mughal unfriendliness towards the fleet; but the arrival of such a strong force naturally caused considerable 'noise' at Aurangzeb's court, and he sent a new governor, Ghiyas-uddin, with 2,000 horse for the protection of Surat (*E.F.*, 1, 217). There was likelihood of the Dutch spreading such a rumour about the French on the arrival of de la Haye's squadron, for Thevenot (v, 61–5) states that in 1666, when he was at Surat, they were accused by other Franks of being corsairs, and this was readily believed because of an act of piracy by a Dutch rover called Lambert Hugo, who was mistaken for a Frenchman (as to this, see *E.F.*, 1661–4, p. 189*n*., and 1665–7, p. 32), so that Father Ambrose had great difficulty in persuading the Governor to the contrary. Thevenot also says (IV, 355–6) that in 1665 the Dutch spread a false rumour at Basra that there were eight French corsairs at sea, in order to induce merchants to lade goods in their ships, instead of in those belonging to Moors which might be attacked.

[2] The Dutch were of course alarmed at the appearance of the formidable French fleet in India, and owing to its three months' stay at Swally had time to make preparations against any attack by it. They fitted out two squadrons to cruise off the coast of Ceylon and southern India, with a view to keep a watchful eye on its proceedings (C. R. Boxer, *Mariner's Mirror*, Oct. 1930, 344; Martin, 1, 300–1, 325; Kaeppelin, 80, 90).

India [cf. vol. 1, p. 219]. They showed their jealousy in all their towns and places, where they exhibited great anger against our nation and proclaimed loudly that the French were their worst enemies in India. They treated us as heretics and infidels, because they said we had come to India without the permission of their king of Portugal [cf. vol. 1, p. 204]; and they carried this extravagant assertion to such a height that I was assured some of the leading men in Goa had declared they would not recognise the king of Portugal as their rightful ruler, and would consider him no better than a heretic, if he did not declare war against France on this account. This was the outcome of the mad jealousy of this cowardly and proud nation towards the French. They opposed us in everything, as I have already shown and shall show later on. The English, though in appearance they were fairly friendly, showed plainly that our establishment in India caused them worry and much rancour.[1] This was evident on many occasions where they might have been of service both to us and to the honour and glory of our great French king. I shall show all this in its proper place.[2]

Notwithstanding the rumours and calumnies spread by the Dutch on all sides that the French intended to become corsairs, it was easy to see events at Surat that contradicted this assertion. Two directors-general of the Company, MM. Blot and Baron, had just arrived to manage affairs and encourage trade and commerce in these countries. It was also seen that several ships belonging to the Company (the *Phoenix*, the *St. Jean Baptiste*, the *Vautour*, the *Dauphin*, the *St. Paul*, the *St. François*, and others), had brought much merchandise, sums of money, and other things, which corsairs generally do not carry.[3] Moreover M. Caron returned with

[1] In 1668 the English Company instructed the President and Council at Surat that it was against its interests to encourage French trade in India, but that on the other hand, as England and France were at peace, they should do nothing that might give rise to 'a just complaint in Europe' (*E.F.*, 1668–9, 14). In 1669 Sir George Oxinden said the French there disparaged the English King and Company, and magnified the 'greatness and power' of their King and Company (ibid. 206).

[2] Carré here refers to de la Haye's complaint against the Governor and Council of Madras that they did not properly assist the French at St. Thomé: e.g. cf. pp. 581–2, 631–2, 654 *post*.

[3] The *St. Jean Baptiste* arrived at Surat on 26 October 1671 (Delestre, 34; Kaeppelin, 66, 80). The *St. Paul* and the *St. François* were earlier ships that came in 1670 (Kaeppelin, 63–4; Martin, 1, 292).

rich cargoes from Bantam, where he had established a factory very advantageous for our trade. All this plainly showed that, in spite of the jealousy of our foes, we sought only commerce and trade, and not war, in India. It is certain that this French fleet and the state of our affairs then could have raised the glory of France and the Company to a very great height: if all had only been conducted and governed with prudence and unity and with no other interest but that of our nation and our Company, what might not have been done! At the sight of such a fine fleet, the rulers of Ceylon, Calicut, Cochin, Bantam, and other rich places in the East, would have called us on every side, not (as other nations had done) to make forcible demands of presents and immense sums of money and land on which to establish factories, but to be their protectors against the unjust usurpers of their territories. What could be more glorious for our Company than the sight of powerful directors, with many ships and plenty of money, merchandise and credit, of good repute and honoured by all India? What could be better for France than to see the Royal East India Company established with glory and splendour in all the best trading places for fine merchandise, for strange stuffs, spices, pearls, diamonds, and about to possess the best marts for cinnamon, nutmeg, cloves, and everything else rich and rare in the East? This was the state of the French affairs in India and at Surat at the end of 1671.

But alas for the violent French nature! Oh strange nation that cannot uphold its glory and splendour in a foreign country! Small points of honour, of pre-eminence, of leadership and seniority—these things carry much weight in the Orient, and how eagerly they are sought for by Europeans. They ruin business, and prevent trade and cause great evils. Let us now see the fatal proof of this in the movements of our fleet. I only wish to give an exact account of everything with the sincerity of a man, jealous for his great king's glory and the good of his nation. No one must expect me to flatter, no matter whom, nor do I wish to hide the least circumstance of anything that has come to my knowledge. No! I cannot do it, and no consideration will turn me from the paths of truth in affairs of this nature.[1] M. Caron returned from Bantam, where he had been received with every satisfaction and imaginable honour

[1] The marginal note to this passage says: 'un historien doibt estre sincère et n'avoir esgard qu'à la pure veritté'. Carré seems to have suffered in France for his strict regard to plain, unvarnished truth, as seen by him; cf. vol. I, p. xxxiii.

from the king of that place, who earnestly desired to have his land put under the protection of the King of France.[1] He was received with great ceremony at Surat by M. de la Haye, who presented him with the Order of St. Michael on behalf of our great king, in recognition of his services and as a mark of the confidence in which he was held by His Majesty for the glorious undertakings he had planned in this rich country.[2]

M. Blot had newly arrived in India. He was without doubt a very good man of business, and understood trade perfectly, but he had no experience or knowledge of the commerce of this country. He wished to conduct the Company's interests with such an excess of zeal that at first he opposed every resolution and plan of M. Caron; and he was so suspicious of him that he could not help showing openly his inability to work with him in any way whatsoever. Consequently these two directors were playing one against the other, and the Company's affairs fell into a dreadful state. They did not consider the harm that this disunion and bad feeling of the two Chiefs caused to the honour and reputation of our nation and to the progress of trade. It came finally to a complete rupture between them, and they would neither see one another, nor hold any communication even in the Company's affairs. M. Caron withdrew to Swally with M. de la Haye, in order to superintend the outfitting of the fleet, so that it might leave as soon as possible, while M. Blot stayed at Surat to manage the Company's affairs with M. Baron. The latter was a very peaceable man and a friend of harmony and moderation. He tried to smooth over everything, but in vain.

The directors, having several ships on their hands, resolved to send some back to France with valuable merchandise, and to send others to trade with Persia and other Eastern kingdoms. M. Caron

[1] Caron returned from Bantam about 11 November 1671 (*Journal*, 1, 100). The King of Bantam had promised the island of Banka to the French (Kaeppelin, 65, and cf. p. 419 *post*).

[2] The *Journal* (1, 108–9) records that on 1 January 1672 the Viceroy went on board the *St. Jean Baptiste* to present to Caron the Order of St. Michael, which Louis XIV had conferred on him: previously he had arranged for this ceremony to take place on 22 December 1671, but it was postponed, as the Bishop of Heliopolis, who had promised to assist in it, failed to appear. Martin (1, 317–8) also says that Father Ambrose officiated at it on account of the absence of the Bishop. Delestre (58) seems, therefore, to be wrong in saying that the ceremony was performed by the Bishop in the French house at Swally.

chose two of them, the *Phoenix* and the *St. Jean Baptiste*, to sail with His Majesty's fleet, but M. Blot opposed this violently, and was so enraged against the Viceroy that it was almost necessary to use more than mere words to correct his attitude. In spite of M. Blot's opposition and anger, M. Caron continued to provide a good cargo for the two ships in which he intended to accompany the fleet. He also took a large sum of money for the use of the squadron, which further enraged M. Blot. This did not, however, prevent the latter from lading three ships for himself, viz. the *St. François* for Persia and Basra, and the *Dauphin* and the *Vautour* for France.[1] The last was ordered to touch at Bantam for spices and to take in her one of M. Blot's hangers-on, whom he was sending as Chief of the factory there in place of M. Pilavoinne. The latter was a good old man, both upright and honest, but had the misfortune to incur the ill-will of M. Blot, who dismissed him from the factory at Bantam, simply because M. Caron had given him the post.[2] I considered the person sent in his place was not capable of conducting the Company's business in India any better than he had done his own affairs in France. Time and events soon showed the truth of this, and of what I have had only too many proofs, namely that persons given positions and employment by favour and for family considerations, though they have no attainments or ability, can never succeed, prosper, and manage affairs like those who have acquired practical experience and are both upright and honest. All the other European nations pay great attention to this in the conduct of their trade.

At last all the ships, both of the squadron and of the Company, were ready to set sail together. M. Caron was to lead His Majesty's fleet, in order to carry out his plans. He warned the Viceroy before his departure to provide himself with everything necessary and urged him to take enough food in the ships for a whole year. But the Viceroy made the great mistake of not believing this, and took only enough provisions for four or five months:[3] the consequences

[1] This distribution of the French Company's ships is confirmed by Martin I, 316–7. See also Kaeppelin, 82, 89.

[2] M. Pilavoine seems to have come from Bantam to Surat, as he was one of the two men that were left in charge of the factory, when Baron went to St. Thomé in February 1673 (Kaeppelin, 88, 172; *E.F.*, I, 61–2; and cf. vol. III, ch. IV).

[3] J. Sottas, *Histoire de la Compagnie, &c.*, 46, and Delort, *Revue Maritime, &c.*, XLVII, 58, say he took provisions only for six months.

of this and the harm resulting to His Majesty's affairs will soon appear.

Though things were in this plight, MM. Caron and Blot refused to be reconciled and preferred to leave the Company's business in discord and confusion rather than give way on certain points. The latter were only trifles, but caused so much trouble in the Company that no one quite knew how to act. The officers were divided; each one followed the side and the wishes of the director who suited him best. M. Caron was so outraged and piqued that, before his departure, he loudly protested that he was abandoning the Company's service and would never return to Surat, as he could not live with rivals sent out from France to oppose all his plans, business and enterprises.[1] This was a great loss to the Company, as he was the only man really capable of great undertakings, and had conducted all his projects with admirable success. But he would have no rival; he must act alone in business, and must have absolute authority and command in all his designs. To him alone must belong the honour and glory of any successes, and on that point of honour and pre-eminence this little old man was so jealous and headstrong that I have often seen him let enterprises fail, because other people had undertaken them. He did not disguise this, as he had great trust in me and I knew how to manage him. I have often been alone with him, and have seen him shed tears of rage and displeasure, when crossed in any of the Company's business affairs. He told me many times that nothing touched him more than this, and that it was the cause of his abandoning the service and the interests of his own nation; for, when he was the chief and the most important person in the Dutch Company in the Indies, they sent out a rival to Batavia, who with the help of his friends usurped the first place there, and claimed all the honour and glory of his achievements.[2] It is, therefore, not

[1] This is supported by the fact that in July 1672 Caron was proposing to get de la Haye's permission to return to France (his let. to Colbert, 4 July 1672, App. to the *Journal,* p. 29); and he actually left in Oct. 1672 in the *Jules*, but the ship was wrecked off Lisbon, and Caron with 31 others was drowned (C. R. Boxer, *Mariner's Mirror,* Oct. 1930, 347; Kaeppelin, 97; cf. p. 458 *post*). On the other hand an order, in complimentary terms, for him to return to France is said to have come just about the time he left; and uneasiness at the failure of the French in Ceylon no doubt contributed to his decision to sail (*Biog. Gén.*, VIII, 814; Malleson, p. 19).

[2] François Caron was a councillor at Batavia from 1642 to 1647, and director-

surprising that there are always brawls, disorders, and misunderstandings in our unhappy Company, governed as it is by so many Chiefs who have no confidence in, or friendship with, one another.

Affairs at Surat were in this condition when His Majesty's fleet left the port of Swally on 5 January 1672[1] under the command of M. de la Haye, who had proclaimed himself Viceroy of India a month before his departure. His ships were in quite a good state, though the crews had much diminished both by loss at Madagascar, and by the long wait at Surat, where many deserted to the Portuguese and the Moors. The two first ships of the Company were also there—the *Phoenix* and the *St. Jean Baptiste*, the latter of which was commanded by M. Caron.[2] Four other ships left at the same time, viz. the *Vautour* and the *Dauphin* for France, the *St. François* for Persia, and the *Perse*, a ship belonging to the broker Samson, a half share of which was hired by the Company, and which was bound for Bantam.[3] The squadron, having set sail, followed the Malabar coast and stopped at Goa, the residence of the Portuguese Viceroy. Here our fleet found two other ships of our Christian Majesty, the *Grand Bretton* [*Breton*] and the flute [transport] *St. Denis*,[4] both well equipped with crews, munitions, and considerable financial help that His Majesty had sent to his

general in 1647–50. He sought a still higher post, but was refused it: in disgust he left the Dutch service and returned to Holland in 1651, together with the governor-general, Cornelius van der Lyn, who thought Caron had been badly treated and resigned also (Valentijn, *op. cit.*, IV, 296; Tavernier's *Travels*, I, liii; Martin, I, 97–8; *Biog. Gén.*, VIII, 812; *Biog. Univ.*, VII, 28). The 'usurper' may have been a subordinate, who superseded him.

[1] The actual date of departure was 9 Jan. 1672 (*Journal*, I, 109; Delestre, 59), corresponding to (O.S.) 31 Dec. 1671 (*E.F.*, I, 215). The fleet sailed without the *St. Jean de Bayonne*, which was left at Surat for repairs (cf. p. 425 *post*), but with three vessels of the Company, *Phoenix*, *St. Jean Baptiste*, and a hooker *St. Louis* (Kaeppelin, 89).

[2] Delestre (59) says the *St. Jean* sailed under the command of Captain Herpin, who had brought her from France (ibid. 2)—a statement confirmed by p. 420 *post*. Caron was only her nominal commander.

[3] The *Dauphin* left in Jan. 1673 for France; the *Vautour* sailed a little later to Bantam, whence in October she went to France; while the *St. François* left on 3 March for Persia (Kaeppelin, 82–3, 84, 89 where *Vautour* is a mistake for *St. François*).

[4] According to Martin (I, 322) and the *Journal* (I, 127) the *Breton* was already at Goa, when the fleet arrived there on 25 January. On the other hand Delestre (71) says she arrived on 29 January, and (72) two hookers on the next day. One of these was (Kaeppelin, p. 90) the *Barbaut*, or *Barbot*, which is mentioned on

fleet. It was thus capable of undertaking anything in this oriental country with glory and great honour. Our French, overjoyed at seeing themselves in so flourishing a state, stopped in Goa longer than was necessary for the needs either of business or of the fleet.[1]

But what can I say? They wanted to take this chance of showing off the magnificence and pride of the French nation in this large and once important city. It was the most curious spectacle that one might have seen for a long time in this country. The Portuguese is the proudest nation in the world—the only thing left of their former splendour and power in India. They received our officers, soldiers, and sailors, in a way that showed their jealousy at being overshadowed by another nation in expenditure and sumptuous entertainment, for seeing our Frenchmen smart, well-dressed and with richly ornamented clothes and weapons, there was no common Portuguese soldier, however poor and lowly, that did not spend all he had, and even five or six months' advances in his pay, to try to appear the equal of our French soldiers of the same rank.[2] The fidalgos also made a magnificent display in their clothes, the ornaments and coverings of their palanquins, and their feastings, so as to receive our French gentlemen in a splendid way. We, on our side, did not fail to forestall or return these honours and civilities with much extravagance, but the profits of all this were gained by the Portuguese. The captains and officers of our squadron also did not omit to offer the same courtesies to the Portuguese naval officers, and they vied with one another every time they met on land. Each nation tried to surpass the other in feasts, visits, and entertainments. Our soldiers and sailors yielded nothing to their rivals, and made the most of themselves, whenever they

p. 427 by Carré as a unit of de la Haye's fleet at Trincomalee. According to Kaeppelin, pp. 35, 654, the other hooker, which left La Rochelle with the *Breton* and the *Barbaut* on 16 March 1671, was the *Guillot*; and Carré's letter of 22 January 1674 to Colbert (vol. I, p. xvii) gives the name of that ship (and not the *St. Denis*) as the one that was at Goa with the *Breton*. The *St. Denis* was a ship of the French Company, and not a King's ship; and she accompanied Baron from Surat to St. Thomé (p. 523 *post*). It seems clear, therefore, that the name *St. Denis* here is a mistake for that of *Guillot*. She also came with Baron to St. Thomé, so must have sailed from Goa to Surat, instead of going with the French fleet to Ceylon.

[1] The fleet stayed at Goa till 2 February, 1672 (*Journal*, I, 127–8).

[2] With reference to the stay of de la Haye's fleet at Goa, Carré reported to Colbert that the Portuguese were strangely jealous of every new nation arriving in India, where their empire was no more than ruins (Kaeppelin, 90).

could; so that, when they went on shore the Goa people took them for French fidalgos, seeing them smart, clean and well brushed, with curled moustaches and belted swords, walking in an arrogant manner. They could not believe that our soldiers and sailors could ever wear fine puffed out shirts, well-gartered stockings, and good shoes, as their own soldiers go about dressed in a way that excites more pity than fear. The Portuguese soldiers and sailors, driven by jealousy at the sight of our men thus attired, did everything in their power to emulate the French. The former splendours of Goa, now forgotten, seemed to recover a little of their old pomp and magnificence by the arrival of our fleet. The streets were resplendent with palanquins, richly harnessed horses, and large suites of slaves, who escorted their masters in all the visits, walks, and rejoicings, of the two nations. The Viceroy's palace and the fine houses of the principal Portuguese were filled day and night with all that was most rich and glittering from both Goa and our fleet. Even the houses of the traders, artisans, and common people, felt the benefit of this wild extravagance. The inhabitants of this city, who are mostly now reduced to leading a miserable life, with a little dry rice, salt fish, and local fruit, as their ordinary food, were so amazed to see people whose only aim was to spend large sums, that they vied with one another in receiving these worthy Frenchmen in their houses, and furnished them with all they wanted for their voluptuous pleasures and amusements. All this, however, was coupled with polite pretexts for anxiety over the supply of the provisions ordered, so that anyone who had Portuguese wine to sell became rich quickly. Bakers, fruiterers, and pastry-cooks, were in clover; and above all those who dealt in human flesh, with which this town is full, made wonderful profits. Therefore, our squadron rapidly enriched this city, which for many years had not seen such magnificent and liberal people.[1]

[1] Carré's description of the good reception given by the Portuguese to the French officers and men may be exaggerated, but it has authority, as it must have been based on conversations that he had with officers of the fleet at St. Thomé. The *Journal* (I, 126, 127) shows that the Viceroy of Goa made a present of livestock and provisions to the fleet, and entertained de la Haye and Caron, who (according to Martin, I, 322) had their first interview with him at night, going incognito and alone. He adds that during the fleet's stay there were several visits of the principal officers and ecclesiastics of the town, who came to salute de la Haye, and that 'the cannon was not spared to [accompany] the healths that were drunk'.

But, in addition, other things were happening, which served a scheme that was developing under all this magnificence, though no one, however intelligent, could discover it, unless he was an actor in this pageant. It must not be thought that the Goa Viceroy was wasting his time. He was too clever to miss this chance. As soon as he knew our squadron was at the bar of Goa, he gave orders that all officers at the gates and entrances, as well as in the city, were to render every sort of courtesy and civility to all Frenchmen, when they came ashore to visit the town, fortresses, and pleasant surroundings of Goa. He further ordered that all sorts of food and refreshments were to be brought for sale to the French, as wanted. All this apparent friendship and courtesy only hid his fury against our nation and his underhand game. He could not bear any other European in India taking the name and status of Viceroy. He thought of every possible way of weakening our fleet and the rising glory of our Viceroy, and believed there was no better means of gaining his ends than to injure the squadron both in its finances and personnel. To do this, as I learnt from one of his own creatures, he employed only his best and most devoted friends, to whom he revealed his designs against us. They were ordered to attend every fête, promenade, and rejoicing, which were the causes of great outlay to us, and above all by fine promises and advantageous offers to try to lure the French into his service. He certainly succeeded very well, as they could not buy any refreshments, except at the high prices that were fixed. Most of our folk, as usual, had squandered all their money and were delighted to borrow from these Portuguese, in order to continue this delectable existence for a few days longer, but at the expense of their liberty. Consequently, when our squadron set sail, there were enough Frenchmen left behind in Goa to form two companies of soldiers, of whom the Viceroy was very proud, calling them his 'Vallenters'.[1] He still uses them in all his special expeditions. Moreover this Goa Viceroy, while we were at Surat, sent trustworthy people there, so that the towns of Daman, Tarapur, Bassein, and Chaul, and other Portuguese settlements, were filled with our French whom they induced to desert by promises

[1] 'Vallenters' is perhaps Carré's rendering of Port. *valentoes,* i.e. valiant or stout men, rather than of *voluntarios,* volunteers. See vol. I, pp. 122–3 as to Carré meeting some of these deserters at Kung. Martin (I, 323) also refers to the desertion of a large number of men, and even of some officers, at Goa.

and fine but delusive offers. What did our fleet gain from this visit? The loss of many men from our crews, who went to reinforce the Portuguese, and a large expenditure of money that was very prejudicial to our Viceroy's affairs, as will soon be seen.

However the squadron hardly noticed these losses, and left Goa with every mark of satisfaction. It went south, along the rich coast of Malabar, and put into Calicut, where the Samorin [Zamorin], one of the most powerful kings on this coast, received our Viceroy with all possible state and honour. He placed his kingdom and all his might under the protection of the King of France. He begged our help to expel the Dutch, who had usurped the best places in his land. He asked the Viceroy to leave him some Frenchmen, and as a bribe gave him a pleasant and fertile place [Alicot] on a good river, which made an excellent port for trade in spices that abound here. The Viceroy and M. Caron had, however, much more important projects on hand than the occupation of this place, so they replied to the king's civility and goodwill with a small present and fine promises for the future. On his entreaties to leave some Frenchmen as a sign of the promised protection, M. Coche, a young Parisian clerk in the Company's service, was selected and took up his residence at Pagnany [Ponnāni], a fertile spot with all sorts of spices and other merchandise which could be sent to other parts of India very profitably.[1]

Our squadron, having stayed a little while at Calicut, continued its course along the coast, and arrived at Cape Comorin shortly afterwards.[2] Here it met the Dutch fleet, with every possible advantage on our side. A Dutchman, who was then with their fleet, has since told me that when they saw us they were terrified and thought they were lost, as they were between our fleet and the land. We were also stronger, both in men and guns; and at first it looked as if we were about to attack them. He assured me that,

[1] The *Journal* (I, 142–9), Martin (I, 323–4), and Delestre (79–93) corroborate Carré as to the very friendly reception given by the Zamorin of Calicut to de la Haye and Caron, and his grant of Alicot, near Cranganur, to the French. The meeting between them took place at Ponnani, where the Zamorin was residing, on 12 February. As to Carré meeting M. Coche off Ponnani on 10 November 1674, see vol. III, chap. I.

[2] The fleet anchored at Calicut on 12 February (Kaeppelin, 90). He says (ibid.) that the meeting with the Dutch fleet took place between Cochin and Cape Comorin; but Delestre (91) agrees with Carré that it was off Cape Comorin.

if our first ships had carried out this intention, the Dutch would have accorded our Viceroy whatever he demanded by way of making obeisance to him, as they were not yet in a state of war with one another, rather than risk all their forces in Indian waters, which were now in their fleet, and which they well knew were not equal to ours. In these circumstances the Viceroy felt he ought to carry out His Majesty's orders, which were that the royal flag of France must be saluted in those waters, no matter where it was. He consulted M. Caron, who led the fleet, as to what should be done. M. Caron said firmly that care must be taken not to insult the Dutch, as both countries were at peace with one another, and that to attack them might give them a pretext for openly opposing the purpose for which our fleet had been sent out; this was not for war, but to assist in the establishment of trade in the richest countries of the East. The Viceroy, persuaded by M. Caron's arguments, gave our foremost ships the signal to return. They had nearly come up to the Dutch fleet and intended forcibly to oblige them to salute the royal flag of France; but, because of these orders, all our ships had to pass on, without exacting anything from the Dutch. This caused much discontent and murmuring from most of the captains and officers of our fleet, who said openly that the express orders of His Majesty had been ignored. But if our officers had good reason to protest, the Dutch, on their side, were equally astonished to see the change in the manœuvres of our ships, which suddenly continued their course to the south. At first they did not know what to think, but afterwards they did not fail, as usual, to turn this encounter into a tribute to their own glory and to the dishonour of the French. They soon published all over India that the fine and powerful fleet of the King of France had fled from their ships, and had not dared to insist on their giving the salute.[1] This affair was a great surprise to all India,

[1] Martin (1, 325) makes similar remarks on the failure of de la Haye, acting under Caron's advice, to attack the Dutch, if they refused to strike to the French flag. He adds that the Dutch would not have refused to do so, as they had express orders from Batavia to avoid a conflict with the French over this point. This is confirmed by a letter of 31 Jan. 1672 from the Governor-general and Council at Batavia to the Company in Holland (India office transcripts of Dutch records, xxx, No. 784, partly translated in Khan's *Sources, &c.*, at pp. 287–91), which (p. 289–90) shows that the Dutch there had agreed to salute the French flag under protest of compulsion, in case of their vessels meeting a stronger force of French ships at sea (cf. Kaeppelin, 90–1; *C.H.I.*, v, 68).

which had confidently hoped that the French fleet had come to lower the pride and arrogance of the Dutch. The Portuguese, on hearing this news, actually made public rejoicings in all their towns. The English could not abstain from saying what they thought, with jibes and mockery. They remembered with irritation that our fleet on arrival at Surat had forcibly made an English ship there lower its flag; it was obliged to set sail and withdraw to Bombay.[1]

Shortly after this meeting with the Dutch, our squadron arrived at the island of Ceylon on 28 March 1672. All our ships entered the bay of Trincomalee,[2] which is undoubtedly one of the most beautiful and commodious harbours that one could wish for in the Indies. It is the centre and key of all the trade of the East, as the Malabar, Coromandel, and Bengal coasts, China, Achin, Japan, the Red Sea, Persia, India, and other commercial places, are all about the same distance from it. Moreover the harbour can hold 1,000 ships, sheltered from storms and bad weather; and as it is surrounded by forests, they can be refitted there without much difficulty.[3] It is, in fact, a place which will be sought after and bought with large sums of money and magnificent presents by other European nations for their peaceful occupation.

Our Viceroy was received with all possible honour and sub-

[1] This allegation is opposed to Surat factory records, which show that Aungier and his Council firmly and successfully refused de la Haye's demand that the *Falcon* (the Company's flag-ship) should strike to the French flag-ship (*E.F.*, 1, 215–6). The story about the ship running away from Swally appears also in the *Journal* (1, 98) and the Dutch letter of 31 Jan. 1672 already cited (Khan's *Sources*, 289); but it is quite clear that the *Falcon* left with another Company's ship on 5 October (O.S.), merely because they were dispatched to England with their cargoes (O.C. 3611; *E.F.*, 1, 215). The only satisfaction the French got was in returning their departing salute with a less number of guns (*Journal*, 1, 98).

[2] By 'the Bay of Trincomalee' Carré here and elsewhere means the 'Great Bay' of Kutiari: see *n.* 1 at p. 405 *post*. The French ships really entered it a week earlier, viz. on 21 March (*Journal*, 1, 152; Martin, 1, 328). They first reached Point de Galle (the western point of the entrance to Galle harbour) on 7 March (Martin, 1, 328), and went on to Trincomalee from Batticaloa, where they found the Dutch already installed in a fortress (ibid; Delestre, 96).

[3] Caron in his letter of 4 July 1672 to Colbert (*Journal*, App. 20–1, 23–4) uses very similar language as to Ceylon being at the centre of Eastern commerce, and Trincomalee being an incomparable harbour, providing shelter for 1,000 vessels.

mission by the Cingalese King, the most powerful prince of all Ceylon. He expressed himself honoured and satisfied with the favour that the great French King had shown in taking him and the kingdom of Ceylon under his protection. When he heard of the arrival of our fleet, he did not lose a moment in sending us a large number of his people to help ours to construct fortresses for the defence of so important a place. This he gave to the King of France, to win his affection and the protection he expected from the French against the tyrants and usurpers of his land, namely the Dutch, with whom he had waged a bitter war ever since their treachery and deceit towards him in the taking of Colombo from the Portuguese.[1] The Viceroy and M. Caron, having considered its beauty and utility, and the obliging and splendid manner of their reception by the King, resolved to seize such a favourable occasion and not to refuse his offer, as they had done that of the King of Calicut. They, therefore, visited all the anchorages and islands in the bay, and having planned a fortress, noted the positions they could fortify for its defence. They then sent an embassy to the King of Ceylon, with a little gift in recognition of the friendship and affection that he had shown to our nation. At their request he provided workmen, wood, materials, and everything necessary to make the place secure from the Dutch. The latter, however, on

[1] The King of Ceylon (Raja Sinha II) had already been sounded on a proposed alliance with the French, and this was one of Caron's main projects, to which he had converted Colbert before the fleet left France (*Journal*, I, 153 and App. 3, 4; Malleson, 17–8; Kaeppelin, 27–8). On 23 March two local Cingalese commandants told de la Haye they had received orders from the king to give help and refreshments to the fleet, when it appeared (*Journal*, I, 154–5; Martin I, 340); and on 26 March the Admiral sent a deputation under M. de Boisfontaine to the king, asking for the cession of Trincomalee, Kutiari, and other neighbouring places, etc. This was favourably received by the king, who agreed to the proposed cession and alliance; but Carré seems to have been misinformed as to his promptitude in sending help. It was not till May that envoys from the king reached Trincomalee; and though the king was reported to be sending men to assist in the work of fortification, only about 100 came and most of the work had to be done by the French soldiers and sailors, to the great prejudice of the health of a large number of them. Provisions also came only slowly and in small inadequate quantities (*Journal*, I, 158, 169–73, 183, 199, 205–12, 215–9, 225–7, 228–9; Kaeppelin, 91–2; Martin, I, 329, 337, 340–3, 349–51; Delestre, 104). The Dutch treachery mentioned by Carré consisted in their having promised to give over to the king for destruction all the forts they captured from the Portuguese, but having failed to do so in the case of Colombo and other places (*Journal*, App. 5–6; *C.H.I.*, V, 42–3, 47).

being warned of the arrival of the French squadron in this bay, came at once with all their fleet of fifteen ships manned by 1,200 Europeans and the rest natives, which comprised the whole of their forces in Indian waters.[1] They stayed in a little bay behind Trincomalee, where they had a small fort,[2] as they dared not risk being in the same place with our squadron, knowing that we were stronger than they were, and that the King of Candie [Kandy] was daily sending men and munitions to help us. In fact if our fleet had not left the bay before the fortifications were finished, we should certainly have retained this important place, in spite of the efforts and ruses of the Dutch.

Our misfortunes began on 8 April, when the Viceroy and M. Caron, fearing a lack of food before they were ready to leave, sent three ships, the *Phoenix,* the *Europe,* and the *St. Louis,* to the Coromandel coast to get provisions,[3] with strict orders that if they met the Dutch fleet, they were to do nothing, and not even defend themselves, if attacked by it.[4] These three ships left with about 400 soldiers and sailors on board, and the rest of the squadron worked with all speed at the fortification of the bay. The first plan was to fortify a large island called 'Isle of the Sun', and a long prominence called 'Point Bretton [Breton]', which commanded yet another little island with the same name of 'the Sun'. The work on the little island was begun at once as of the most consequence, for it

[1] The Dutch fleet appeared at Trincomalee on 15 May. According to the *Journal* (I, 175) it consisted of 14 vessels, but Caron (ibid. App. 27) and Martin (I, 34) support Carré's statement that the number was 15.

[2] The *Journal* (I, 176) says the fleet anchored before the (Dutch) fort of Trincomalee, i.e. the Portuguese one that the Dutch had rebuilt (ibid. 218–9), called the 'Pagoda fortress' and occupying the site of the present Fort Frederick. As Carré calls it 'a little bay', this might be supposed to be Dutch Bay to the south-west of that fort (*Bay of Bengal Pilot,* 131, 137); but a map of 'the Grand Bay of Cotiary', dated 1672, which is probably one of the two maps that Caron sent to Colbert in July of that year (*Journal,* App. 28), makes it clear that the Dutch ships anchored more to the north in the part of Back Bay next to Fort Frederick (marked D in that map, which is reproduced by Henri Froidevaux in *Histoire des Colonies Françaises,* V, pt. I, *L'Inde du XVIe Siècle à* 1720, at p. 29). By the kind permission of the Librairie Plon, the publishers of the above work, an adaptation of the map faces p. 428.

[3] The *Journal* (I, 149–50) and Martin (i, 330) also gi e 8 April as the date on which the three ships left Trincomalee.

[4] On the other hand Martin (I, 330, 347) says that nc orders had been given by de la Haye on the subject: cf. *n.* 1 on p. 334 *ante.*

closed and protected the entrance of the port.[1] In a very short time it was rendered capable of resisting and preventing the entry of any naval force in India. This little island is only half a league in circumference, and so steep on the east that this side was not fortified. The south side was put into a state of defence after much labour and fatigue. The Viceroy was always present and worked at everything like the simplest soldier. They erected three batteries with thirty guns, some 12, some 8 and others 6-pounders, which commanded the entrance of the port and were capable of defending it against the most powerful enemy. The first battery was the highest one; and half of the second battery was palisaded with a parapet of fascines [bundles of faggots or brushwood] and earth fifteen feet thick; and the third and lowest battery had eight 12-pounders in the open, without parapets or embrasures. The west side, the ordinary landing-place for sloops and boats, was fortified with a palisade, faced inside with fascines as a parapet, to protect the musketeers. The distance between Point Breton and this little island was just about a musket shot,[2] and ships could only enter singly, so were liable to receive the fire from both places as they approached. Also the land on each side is very high in this strait, so that any becalmed vessel would be exposed to the fire of the batteries. The want of drinking water is the only inconvenience in this island: it has to be brought from a well on Point Breton, about 60 or 80 feet away [from the point], or from the larger island, where there is a good water supply.[3] The French flag was

[1] The map of 1672 already mentioned shows that these two islands are those now named 'Sober', and that 'Point Breton' is Ostenberg Point facing the smaller Sober island (*Bengal Pilot*, 134–5). There was a narrow entrance between them into the bay 'of the Sun' (marked F in that map), where the French fleet at first anchored. Another passage between the larger Sober island and the mainland (called the 'French pass') was useless except for boats (ibid. 135). Point Breton was so named because the crew of the *Breton* was employed in setting up a battery on it (Delort, *Revue Maritime, &c.*, XLVII, 58).

[2] De la Haye's description of the Bay of Kutiari (Delort, *loc. cit.*, 57) gives the width of the passage as two cables. This, at 120 *brasses* of two yards to a cable, would make 480 yards. Mr. Carr Laughton, acting Librarian at the Admiralty, also tells us that, by measurement on the chart, the distance from Ostenberg Point to the nearest part of small Sober island is just under three cables, i.e. 600 yards. The distance can, therefore, be taken as between 500 and 600 yards, which a musket of the seventeenth century could carry (*Enc. Brit.*, XVI, 25).

[3] Martin (I, 372) corroborates the statement that there was no water on the

flown at the highest point of the large island of the Sun,[1] which was also fortified by M. Caron with large works. He opened out and cleared much of the thick woods there, and in a small anchorage called 'Caron's cove' he laid the foundation of a large store-house. It was on a high spot facing an open and lovely glade, which ran down through woods to a wooden jetty, useful for lading and unlading merchandise.[2]

While the French were engaged in all these works, Riclophe [Rijkloff], the Dutch admiral, landed all the troops from his ships, and used them to harass us, as well as to try to hinder our works. This obliged our Viceroy on his side to put guards at the places he thought necessary, in order to check the insolence and insults of the Dutch. Though both parties had received orders to offer no violence, nor to resort to arms, yet scrimmages took place every day with insults, fisticuffs, blows with sticks, and even sometimes with musket-butts on the stomachs of both the Dutch and our troops.[3]

On the arrival of the Dutch fleet the Viceroy sent from the bay a small ship of his squadron. This made for the centre of the Dutch ships in the bay where they were anchored, and approached within a pistol shot of General Rijkloff's flag-ship. A boat was lowered and a lieutenant was sent on board; he haughtily asked the general what he wanted in this place, which irritated the latter so deeply that he was on the point of throwing the lieutenant overboard, as well as the boat's crew. However he contented himself with keeping him prisoner for two days, after which he sent him back to his ship, with a reply to our Viceroy, saying that he was much astonished that, though they were not at war, the French had seized this place and declared themselves its masters, and that he

small island, and that it had to be brought from the larger island, about a pistol-shot away.

[1] Great Sober island rises to a wooded summit 226 feet high (*Bengal Pilot*, 134). The map of 1672 corroborates Carré by showing a flag on it. See also *n.* 2 on pp. 418–9 *post*.

[2] This 'Caron's cove', to which the *Journal* (I, 160) gives the same name, appears to be the one now called Orlando, where there is a small stone jetty, with depths of from 6 to 8 feet alongside (*Bengal Pilot*, 135). The *Journal* (I, 159) and Delestre (99) say the whole island was called after Caron. He laid the foundation-stone on 8 June (*Journal*, I, 194).

[3] This passage refers to incidents in May and June, the most serious of which is described at pp. 417–9 *post*.

would do his best to recapture it.[1] I heard all this from a Dutchman who was there. They did not, however, dare to undertake anything openly against us, having enough to do with the Cingalese, who had attacked them two or three times at Tambelegam [Tampalakam] and Cottyary [Kutiari] so fiercely that they were kept busy on that side.[2]

General Rijkloff, however, had had much experience in warfare, and understood how on occasion to employ other means than those of arms. He learnt the fact that we lacked provisions through our own ships crossing to the Coromandel coast, which took only twenty-four hours in fine weather.[3] He believed that the best way to bring the French fleet out of Trincomalee was to cut their route for supplies. To carry out this plan he made all his fleet set sail and sent it to the entrance of the bay, where it anchored, in order to stop our ships on their return from the Coromandel coast.[4] He also stationed soldiers in the country on the roads from Kandy to prevent provisions arriving from the Cinga-

[1] The *Journal* (I, 175) and Martin (i, 341) say that on 15 May de la Haye sent the captain of his guards, M. de Beauregard, to Rijkloff to ask him not to enter the bay, as it had been given to the French by the King of Kandy, to which Rijkloff replied that he would enter it whenever he pleased, and that it belonged to the Dutch Company. The *Journal* says that the captain was badly received, but implies (176) that he came back the same day, as Rijkloff's oral reply is contained in that day's entry; and Martin (341) definitely says that he *did* return on the same day. Carré's informant seems to have mixed up this incident with one of 26 May, when a lieutenant from the *Diligente*, who was sent to Rijkloff in a sloop, was arrested with his crew and imprisoned for two days (*Journal*, I, 182–3, 186; Martin, I, 344–5).

[2] The *Journal* supports this statement by entries relating to the war between the Dutch and the Cingalese in this neighbourhood (e.g. I, 157, 215–6, 217–8). Tampalakam and Kutiari are to the south of Trincomalee near the western shore of what the *Bay of Bengal Pilot* (129, 130) calls Great or Koddyar (i.e. Kutiari) Bay. The Dutch had a fort at Kutiari, which the *Journal* (I, 157) describes as near the river that flows from Kandy (i.e. the Mahaweliganga), but which had been abandoned by them from fear of the French fleet (Delestre, 98).

[3] Martin (I, 337) says that the Dutch also learnt of this lack of provisions from French deserters.

[4] According to the *Journal* (I, 180–4) five Dutch vessels anchored at the entrance of the bay on 21 May, but about 26 May they and eight others that had joined them went near Kutiari. After making several provocative movements, they left this position on 29 May and resumed their former anchorage off the Dutch fort at Trincomalee, with a view (I, 186–7) to await the return of the three ships from the Coromandel coast.

lese.[1] The latter valiantly repelled them and the ambushes laid in their paths, so that the Dutch received no small check. And if our French had then joined the Cingalese troops, it would certainly have been easy to destroy the whole Dutch fleet, as well as their small land-forces. But misfortune seemed to dog us, as M. Caron from political cowardice always stated it was better to wait till the Dutch attacked us than to take the offensive ourselves. He seemed to prefer the destruction of our ships and troops to defending ourselves and thus replying to a declared enemy whose every step was openly against us.[2] Can one imagine anything worse than their fleet in the bay of Trincomalee, awaiting the arrival of our ships from outside? Can one wish for anything worse than their daily fierce attacks on the subjects of the King of Kandy, in order to seize the stores and provisions they were bringing us? Finally, what can be worse than to see two of our best ships taken by the Dutch [pp. 409–10]? What can be a greater insult than to see the capture of a guard of twenty-two Frenchmen [p. 417]; also the insolent act of hauling down the French flag and tearing it into a thousand pieces in full view of our Viceroy and our fleet [p. 419]? I must show all this, so as to omit nothing of our fleet's actions and to continue this story from where we were.

I should state, then, that the Dutch began their hostile acts by taking the *Phoenix* on her return at the end of May 1672 with her cargo and 170 of our best men. I have already written of these captures elsewhere [pp. 333–5], but I feel I must here again disclose with more details the amazing manner in which we French suffered such a great loss. Though they saw plainly that the Dutch fleet was simply waiting at the entrance of their bay for the return of our three ships, they did not worry themselves about it. When

[1] The *Journal* (i, 206) mentions that the Dutch had 'ruined all the environs' of Kutiari, which prevented the arrival of an adequate supply of provisions. Martin (i, 346) says another reason was the panic due to the arrival of the Dutch fleet, which made the inhabitants withdraw farther inland.

[2] On the other hand the Cingalese soldiers available under the general, who arrived in June, were only 3,500 (*Journal,* i, 207), or according to Martin (i, 348) only some 1,500, badly armed and trained. Also, so far as Caron and de la Haye were aware, the French and Dutch were at peace. The letter from Louis XIV to de la Haye of 20 June 1671, announcing the imminence of a rupture with the Dutch and authorising him to take action, if necessary, against them, did not reach him till 15 July 1672, when the fleet was at Tranquebar Martin, i, 326–8; Kaeppelin, 90, 95; Delort, *loc. cit.*, 56, 451).

the *Phoenix* arrived first, the Dutch sent four vessels which, with the wind in their favour, bore down quickly on our ship, two coming up on the lee-side and two to windward. One, carrying the Admiral's flag, fired a cannon-shot; whereupon the French ship, thinking the Dutch wanted a salute, fired five blank shot without due consideration. The Dutch, completely ignoring this civility, sent a boat to the French ship and ordered someone to come on board. The lieutenant of the *Phoenix* promptly obeyed this order, and was immediately arrested by the Dutch. They sent back the boat and ordered the captain to come himself. The ships were near enough to speak, so the French captain shouted to the Dutch that he could not leave his ship, and asked if it was peace or war. To this the Dutch replied that they came in peace and that their Admiral wished only to speak to the captain, after which he could continue his voyage wherever he wished. He was then ordered to follow them. Our ship had meanwhile kept on approaching the bay and could have entered it easily by continuing its course. The Dutch then went about, whereupon our ship did the same and followed them. The Dutch ships were not even satisfied at such abject obedience, and two ships approached the *Phoenix*, in order to board her, but she avoided this by a skilful manœuvre, just as they were preparing the grappling irons, and the two Dutch ships collided with such force that they shattered their sterns, and had great difficulty in getting clear.

It was now quite easy for our men to have escaped if they had wished to do so. They had only to go about and avail themselves of the wind, which was favourable for making the bay of Trincomalee. No! instead of that they were so lost to all judgment of right behaviour that they actually anchored where they were. The Dutch at once saw by this action that we were at our wits' end, so they sent two or three boatloads of men, who came on board our ship without any resistance or even a shot from a musket. There was only an old sergeant, called Father Savage, of M. d'Armes' company, who tried to do his duty. With his halberd he attacked the Dutch pilot who had come on board at the head of his people, and would that he had been allowed to continue his attack, as the Dutch were already trying to leave the ship! But the gallant soldier was ordered to stop, and the Dutch pilot was allowed to mount the forecastle. From this eminence he shouted to our men not to fire, that they were at peace, and that he would prevent his own

men also from firing. Thereupon our French cowardly laid down their arms and withdrew to the waists of the ship, while the Dutch secured her bows where, being superior in numbers, they seized the principal points by force of arms without any resistance. They themselves stated that they were astonished that such a well-armed vessel, with 200 men, could have allowed itself to be captured by three ship's-boats. The Dutch consoled the French officers by assurances that they would neither be wronged nor insulted, and that they would receive every civility and good treatment from the General, who promised that he would send them back with their ship as soon as the French left the bay of Trincomalee. Finally the *Phoenix* was taken to the little Dutch bay, where General Rijkloff, wishing to take every precaution, removed all their powder, shot, and munitions of war, as well as the ship's sails and rudder. The soldiers and sailors were dispersed among his own fleet to reinforce it, so that all that remained in our ship were her officers with their servants. They were given permission to do as they liked, not only with their own furniture and belongings, but with the ship's effects.[1]

The loss of this ship did not seem to trouble the French; they also suffered the Dutch in their full view to take the second ship [the *Europe*], which was returning with provisions and munitions. As soon as she appeared, several Dutch vessels set sail towards her, on which our ship joined and followed them into the Dutch bay with as much boldness and determination, as if they were entering Trincomalee: which leads one to think that the seizure of the *Europe*, as well as that of the *Phoenix*, was a plan concerted with the Dutch.[2] Accordingly the officers of these two French ships, having complete liberty and all their belongings spared, divided the King's money, about 22,000 livres, between them; of this

[1] The substantial truth of Carré's account of the capture of the *Phoenix* is borne out by the similar description of it given by Delestre (105, 131–4), who was on board her at the time. The latter puts the blame (131–2) on her commander, Captain de la Mellinière, who turned a deaf ear to all protestations that the Dutch were not to be trusted, and calmly replied that his orders were not to fight. The *Journal* (1, 197–8) and Martin (1, 346–7), who mentions the brave expostulation of a sergeant under M. Darmes, also confirm it.

[2] Cf. pp. 334–5 *ante*. Martin (1, 347) and Delestre (134) give a similar account of the easy capture of the *Europe*. Delort, *loc. cit.*, 60, says that the *Europe* was taken by the Dutch before she was seen by the French fleet, but the *Journal* entry of 5 June about it shows the contrary.

sum M. Vauttier [Vaultier], merchant and officer of the Company, who was with these noble officers of the King, retained 4,500.[1]

A few days afterwards, about the end of June, the hooker, *St. Louis*, came back from the Coromandel coast, to which it had been sent for the same reasons as the two other vessels. When the hooker appeared near the bay of Trincomalee, she was simultaneously sighted by both the French and Dutch there. The latter sent a vessel to meet her, as they were so sure of seizing her. The French officers of the *Phoenix* and the *Europe*, who were making merry with the Dutch, said they would postpone their supper so as to entertain the officers of the *St. Louis* on their arrival. They passionately desired to have accomplices in their cowardice and fraud, imagining that the more numerous they were, the less odious would their crimes appear. But this time God did not allow their pernicious and unparalleled wishes to succeed. The French at Trincomalee now had their eyes opened, and could not stand seeing the seizure of yet a third ship, without trying to save it. The Viceroy, therefore, sent three ships out of the bay, viz. the *Breton*, the *Jules*, and the *Triomphe*. The last of these, on receipt of a signal from our Admiral as soon as the Dutch ship was seen making for our hooker, at once attacked the Dutchman and gave her a broadside, which so crippled her that, if she had waited for a second one, she would never have regained her fleet. She tried to escape, but the *Triomphe* was a better sailer and would have boarded and taken the ship without opposition but for a chance shot from the escaping Dutchman, which cut the halyard of her top-sail. This delayed her, and she was obliged to leave the fugitive and attack another Dutch ship which was coming to the rescue of the first one, but which failed to join her on account of the gathering darkness. The *St. Louis* therefore escaped. Before leaving the Coromandel coast she had got wind of the Dutch having captured our two ships, *Phoenix* and *Europe*, so she came up very cautiously; and her commander, M. Chanlatte, a wise and prudent man, no sooner saw the Dutch ships at the entrance of the bay of Trincomalee than he went about and, with a favourable wind and under all sails, made for the port of Madras, an English

[1] Delestre (133) puts the sum in the *Phoenix* that was divided as between 18 and 20 thousand livres, and says it was the remainder of the money which Caron had given M. Vaultier for the purchase of provisions, etc.

possession, where he stayed till our squadron arrived at St. Thomé.[1]

The Dutch thought nothing of their insults, surprises, and sorties, which they made daily against the French on their works at Trincomalee; nor did they trouble about the seizure of our two ships. But they were very indignant at the action of our ship *Triomphe*, which had deliberately tried to sink or seize the vessel they sent to take the hooker. They called a council of war, and proclaimed that the French had first broken the peace with them and had begun hostilities by this action. In a passion they declared that the captured French were to be treated as prisoners of war from the day of the *Triomphe's* attack. The reason given for this by the Dutch was that, though they had sent a message to the Viceroy, saying that they were ready to return his two ships with all their crews if he would leave the bay, which (they declared) belonged to them by some unheard of treaty, usurpers and tyrants as they all are in this country,[2] yet our Viceroy, instead of complying with their demands, had sent [the *Triomphe*] to molest one of their ships, in which some of their people had been killed and maimed.

[1] The *Journal's* account of the fight over the *St. Louis* on 13 June (I, 221–2) differs in some respects. The *Triomphe* was first sent out, and exchanged several cannon-shots with the Dutch vessel till she received the injury to her main top-sail. Another Dutch vessel came out, and the *Breton* and the *Jules* were then sent to the rescue of the *Triomphe*, whereupon the Dutch ships rejoined the main fleet. Delestre (135–7) also gives an account of the fight which differs in some minor respects, but its trustworthiness is doubtful, as he wrongly believed that the *St. Louis* was able to rejoin the French fleet in the Bay. He says the *Triomphe* fired on the Dutch ship because she was blanketed in attempting to board her: the latter received great damage and nearly foundered, but recovered and put the *Triomphe* out of action, as narrated by Carré. His statement that the hooker had got wind of the capture of the other two ships conflicts with the contrary one made by the French deserter from her whom he met at Golconda (p. 335 *ante*).

[2] The Dutch had captured Trincomalee in 1639, but surrendered it to Raja Sinha I in 1640 (*C.H.I.*, V, 434). The French found them in occupation of a fort at the north entrance of the Bay of Kutiari; but this was probably done without any grant or permission from the King of Kandy, as they were at war and Cingalese were fighting in the neighbourhood (p. 407). The Dutch East India Company claimed 'rights' over Trincomalee (Batavia letter 31 July 1672, cited by Khan, *Sources, &c.*, 295); but Kaeppelin (91) suggests that the occupation was due to Caron having given away the project formed by the French to seize the place.

The Dutch general, therefore, fitted out a large flute, and shipped all the French prisoners to Negapatam; the crossing was short but cruel, as all our sailors were confined in the hold of the ship. The heat was excessive, and a good many collapsed before they reached land. They were then imprisoned in an old church, which the Portuguese had built, when they were in power. When this vessel arrived at Negapatam, the Dutch there, on seeing so many Frenchmen disembark, were surprised at their not having had enough courage to seize the ship. This would have been quite easy, as besides the sailors in the hold, there were at least fifty officers and men who were allowed complete liberty on deck, whereas the Dutch had only about twenty Europeans, the rest being miserable blacks, who would not have been capable of resistance. Our people had only to agree to the proposal made by some of the most honest of them, who secretly resolved to try this, as the thing was so easy; but this suggestion was turned down by the rest, who had other views than the glory and honour of their reputation.[1] They were sure of their future, as they had been allowed to keep many of the ship's valuable belongings, for which otherwise they would have had to account. They, therefore, preferred to stay at Negapatam among the Dutch, who had received strict orders from their general not to molest these brave French officers in any way. They were given quite a nice house, with a fair amount of liberty, being obliged only to have an officer and a soldier to watch over them, when they went out.[2] Therefore, not lacking comfort and money, their sole occupation was to divert themselves in pleasures, luxury, and amusements. No clothes were too expensive for them for visits to ladies, whom they regaled with splendid feasts, magnificent presents, and with such liberality

[1] Delestre (140–4), who was on board himself and tried to stir his fellow-prisoners to capture the vessel, gives a vivid account of the sufferings of the Frenchmen in the hold and of their rigorous treatment at Negapatam, where they were confined in an old church dedicated to St. Thomas, but used by the Dutch as a stable and storehouse. Later on, however, (he says) the Dutch relaxed this severity and gave them 'fairly good cheer'. Martin (1, 373) comments, like Carré, on the failure to capture the vessel, saying this proposal was rejected by the captain of the *Europe* and other officers on the ground that they had given their parole not to do anything of the kind.

[2] Delestre (163–4) says that the officers were lodged in 'maisons bourgeoises' and had liberty to leave the town, accompanied by their guards, who did not inconvenience them much, if given a pourboire.

that it was soon known the French had no rivals in generosity and gallantry, even in adversity. Such pleasant occupations made these illustrious officers think of the interests of their King and master. They reflected that, when they shared out His Majesty's money, M. Vaultier, who was only a Company's officer, had retained 4,500 livres. They thought it was not right that this money, which belonged to the King, should be given to a merchant, and that it would be much better in their hands, as King's officers. They purposely quarrelled with M. Vaultier, whom they maltreated, and seizing the keys of his chest, they took all this money with the exception of 500 livres, which they left to appease him and serve for his expenses. This is what happened to these three ships of our squadron to its very considerable detriment, entailing also the loss of this important place, as I shall show later on; and all this was occasioned by the want of a little confidence that the Viceroy might have had in the advice and warning of M. Caron, who urged him, before leaving Surat, to take food and provisions for a year in the ships of his fleet.[1]

But before re-entering the bay of Trincomalee, I think I must make a little trip to Surat to see how the Company's affairs were going on there during the expedition of our fleet. It seems that, after the departure of His Majesty's fleet, M. Caron carried out his intention of entirely abandoning the Company and its interests, so nothing was left at Surat, which should have caused trouble, disunion, or embarrassment to its affairs. M. Blot, who assuredly was clever and intelligent in business, finding himself alone and without opposition from M. Baron, who was the most gentle of men and preferred peace and concord to anything else, conducted our business in a way which not only surprised the French, but amazed the local merchants of the Company. They could never get the better of him in any commercial transaction; and even the Company's broker had to walk warily before him. His officers both feared and loved him, seeing him to be an active and indefatigable man who had his hand on everything and kept all things in order, and each man to his duty. With all that, his manner was so admirable and he was so charming and friendly that he was a sociable man and equally welcome in hours of repose and recreation. This

[1] According to Martin (I, 331) de la Haye excused himself for this, declaring he had been deceived at Surat by advisers, who told him he would get plenty of provisions of all kinds at Trincomalee.

was the sole object of our good director, and the state of things after the departure of M. Caron: which plainly shows the evil caused by quarrels, the good resulting from peace and concord in any sort of single rule [MS. *monarchie*], whatever it may be, and how a division of absolute authority and command can produce evil and bitter consequences. It is quite certain that, if at first M. Caron had not been thwarted in his overwhelming desire to have pre-eminence and absolute power in all his undertakings, the Company's affairs would have been much more successful than they were. If M. Blot had come to relieve M. Caron, and had also been alone with absolute power over everything without contradiction, I believe he would have become a very successful man after some years of experience in the country. But the destiny of this unhappy Company was different: it was to have troubles all the time; and when at last remedies were not needed to smooth them away, as they seemed to be entirely removed, see what happened. It is sometimes the case with doctors, who try out remedies on a poor, suffering, but convalescent patient that, just as the latter is feeling a little better, they give him a last purge to clear out the rest of his so-called bad humours, but the result is only to revive them and often to ruin any chance of his recovery; they ought to have left him quietly to mother nature, which is better than all the medicines in the world, if not interfered with by too violent and frequent remedies. In like manner our poor Company had suffered many revolutions, disorders, and bad humours. It was just beginning to convalesce, when it was forced to take another remedy designed to set it on its feet again; but the result was not what these doctors expected, as it only aroused the same disorders that had all along caused its illness.

The remedy was the arrival of M. Gueston, an upright and honourable man, with such weight and eminent authority that M. Blot lost no time in showing that he could not stand the effects of this pill. Hardly had they met at Surat, when the other officers of the Company, who had all been reunited under one and the same power and authority, again became divided in their allegiance, seeing the open enmity which was shown in many matters between the two Chiefs. M. Gueston was a very mild person with eminent qualities, and looked at business from a different angle to that of M. Blot, who had a proud, hasty nature, and thought a good deal of his own capacity. The latter, after many encounters,

said openly that the orders and powers of this coadjutor were no greater than his own, that he himself was also a director-general, and had similarly been sent from France to put the Company's affairs in order; and that it would soon be seen by their work which of the two was the more capable. Things came to such a point that no one quite knew how to carry on the Company's business. If the local merchants came to see one director in any business, the other, furious that they had not come to him first, either tried to hinder, or vetoed, the matter. If one of the factory's officers went to bring a letter, to ask for advice, or to get an order signed, he felt very awkward and alarmed, as he knew that he would be snubbed by the director who had not been first consulted. M. Blot occupied himself entirely with all trade affairs, and feeling that he knew more about them than the newcomer, would not suffer any contradiction. M. Gueston, who really did not know anything about local trade or the practical conduct of commerce, applied himself to putting economy and order into the affairs of the factory. This at once upset the junior officers, who did not know what to do. They complained that their food was curtailed, that their liberty was taken away, and that they were treated more rigidly than the most austere monks in Europe. They were compelled to assemble at the sound of a bell for meals, and at night for evening prayers. They could not go out without leave, and they were deprived of their usual liberties and amusements, the loss of which was very detrimental to their health.

This was the state of affairs at Surat during the time of the joint government of these two directors, who mutually opposed each other. I cannot include M. Baron in their intrigues, as he always bore himself with such prudence and mildness that he never declared his support for either of his two confrères. He always did his best to reconcile them and to create a happy medium in all their bickerings, which after all were about nothing but fancies and little punctillios without any foundation. Nevertheless, they did a great deal of damage to the Company's affairs, and to the reputation which our nation was beginning to have in this country. The greatest proof of this is the wreck of our richest and best ship—the *St. Esprit*—which was lost with all its cargo in the river at Surat. This was entirely the fault of MM. Blot and Gueston, who disagreed on the subject of the ship: one wished it to be unladen before entering the river, while the other obstinately de-

termined to bring it with the cargo up the river to Surat—a three days' voyage among sand-banks on which ships were stranded at every tide.[1] The two directors acted in this way in everything concerning the good of the Company's business.

In a few words, this is what happened among the Chiefs and officers of the Company at Surat while His Majesty's squadron was in the bay of Trincomalee. Its condition also did not promise any final success, as they were short of food after the loss of their three ships and a great many men.[2] Nevertheless the Viceroy and M. Caron carried out their plans with as much vigour and resolution as if they had nothing to fear from the Dutch, though they saw the latter were set on doing their utmost to retake the bay, on the possession of which depended the success or ruin of their business in this country. The Dutch accordingly decided not to disguise their resolution, nor spare any efforts, to become masters of the place; and the more they saw the French holding back and unwilling to declare themselves enemies, the more insolence they showed, and determination to persevere in their plans. They placed men on every side to hinder our communication with the Cingalese. Others, as spies, tried to trap our people in order to learn the Viceroy's affairs and intentions. They succeeded only too well, through the hasty and cowardly nature of some of our nation, who had taken refuge with them. Resenting the little concern with which we regarded them, they showed openly that they were not of the same opinion, and would not scruple to make themselves masters of the place.

This can be easily seen by an action which occurred at night a few days after the seizure of our ships, and in which a complete guard of twenty-two Frenchmen was captured at Point Breton of [? off] the Sun island.[3] The Dutch stayed there till daybreak,

[1] The *St. Esprit* had brought M. Gueston from France to Surat on 26 March 1672 (Kaeppelin, 84). As to the quarrel between MM. Blot and Gueston over her loss, cf. Martin, I, 375. Carré's remarks on affairs at Surat are largely a repetition of those in vol. I, pp. 143–6.

[2] They were so short of food, according to Caron (*Journal*, App. 28), that in July, besides 360 sick men, 340 were too feeble to be able to fight.

[3] MS. *sur la pointe Bretton de l'Ille du Soleil*. Here Carré seems to locate Point Breton on the small island of the Sun, instead of on the mainland with a narrow strait between it and that island, as it was rightly placed at p. 404 *ante*; or, if he means the large island of the Sun, this was still farther from Point Breton. That the French guard was actually on the mainland is shown clearly by the accounts

when they sounded a fanfare of trumpets to mark their victory. The Viceroy at once opened fire from our ships and forts and, arriving with armed boats, landed all his men at the end of the point. He then retook the place, which the Dutch abandoned after a light defence. Two gentlemen-cadets of the flag-ship were killed, viz. M. Bolé and M. Diclon, who fought in the action with great bravery. The Dutch lost about twenty men on their side, and some prisoners; from the latter we learnt that on the preceding day they had been warned by three Frenchmen who had deserted to them from the *Breton*, of the state of the point and of its guard. They had, therefore, left their fort about midnight with five companies, and scaled the most difficult place inside the palisades to the south, where they knew no sentry had been posted. After all had climbed up, they fell upon our soldiers, who had not time to do anything, and made them prisoners with their officer, M. de Brecy, an infantry lieutenant, who was surrounded and seized sword in hand.[1] Two days after this insult, the Viceroy hoisted the French flag on the highest spot of the island [? peninsula],[2] the

of the attack in the *Journal* (I, 194–6) and by Martin (I, 347–8); and Carré's subsequent account of how the attackers got from the Dutch fort to Point Breton also implies that they went all the way by land. It looks, therefore, as if some words such as '*en face*' (opposite) had been inadvertently omitted before 'de l'Ille'; but the mistake seems to be repeated in his reference to the French flag, as having been torn by the Dutch on the large island of the Sun (p. 419 *post*).

[1] This event took place on 9 June, and Carré's main statements are confirmed by the *Journal* and Martin. According to these accounts, the Dutch surprised the guard at Point Breton about an hour before dawn and carried some of the men off, after killing a sergeant and two cadets. Subsequent fighting ensued between the French and the Dutch below the Point; but when the former reached the guard-house, they found it abandoned by the Dutch, except for a sentinel, who was taken prisoner (*Journal*, I, 194–7; Martin, I, 347–8). According to the *Journal* (I, 194) twelve of the guard escaped, five remained uncaptured, and the Dutch took away twelve as prisoners, together with the officer of the guard, M. Prisy (Carré's 'de Brecy').

[2] MS. *de la ditte Isile*. Here again Carré seems to place Point Breton on one of the islands of the Sun that lay opposite it. The map of 1672 shows flags (presumably both French) flying at Point Breton and on the large island of the Sun. As the attack was on the guard at Point Breton, it must have been the former which the Dutch tore into pieces; but it is improbable that it was replaced there, for on 10 June de la Haye withdrew the guard to a longboat at the foot of the point, to prevent desertions which could be made more easily from the point, and on 13 June he removed the palisades that had been put up at

Dutch having torn the flag they found there into a thousand pieces. It would seem that these preparations, menaces, and continual insults, should have been sufficient motives to induce the Viceroy and M. Caron not to abandon this place, though they might not be able to resist a siege or attacks by our enemies.

It was an astonishing thing that even with their enemies at hand and their fortifications hardly begun, and with no apparent chance of holding the place with a small force, our two Chiefs, so clever in warfare and trade, resolved to leave this splendid work unfinished and a prey to their enemies, who had gathered all their forces to regain its possession, knowing it was so important. M. Caron had other projects which he considered of more value; but as the enterprise in Ceylon had been so successfully begun and assured us a harbour in the best spot in the East, it seems to me that our fleet could have done nothing better than to complete this great work. We should then have a safe base for our ships and not disappoint the king of the country in his hope of French protection; also it was advisable even for the sake of our not giving up an enterprise which the Dutch so openly disputed with us. It is true that the King of Bantam had offered the island of Banka [off the S.E. coast of Sumatra] to M. Caron on his last voyage, and that he had given his word to go there with the Viceroy. This would have opened the Spice Islands, Japan, and China, to our trade, as well as other rich countries in the East. If M. Caron had only acted firmly and had completed his undertaking, we should today have been masters of the best places in the Indies, and above our enemies. But, alas! as he was in French service, he took on their nature, which was to be violent in all undertakings, but to achieve little with success. Finally it was resolved to leave Trincomalee, where there was not yet a single building or magazine for the storing of food and munitions of war. The ship *St. Jean Baptiste* was to be left behind; this M. Caron sacrificed to serve as a warehouse for food, clothes, arms, munitions, and the money for the

the point, to prevent their falling into the hands of the Dutch (*Journal*, 1, 198, 200; Martin, 1, 348). Probably it was after this attack that the French flag was hoisted for the first time on the large island of the Sun (p. 406 *ante*). According to the *Journal* (1, 191, 192) de la Haye chose the place for this flag on 3 June, and a day later gave orders for the levelling, etc., of the spot, so it may not have been ready till about 11 June, when Carré says the flag was hoisted.

garrison's expenses, till those remaining there had constructed suitable houses and buildings for the storage of all these things.[1]

M. Caron had all his silver, furniture, and valuables aboard the *St. Jean Baptiste*, in which he had come from Surat. He transferred all these things to the *Flamand*, [the command of] which had been given him by the Viceroy. The latter went on board himself to give over her possession, and to present M. Caron to the crew. He ordered them to obey M. Caron as if he were himself. He made them also receive, as captain, M. Herpin, who formerly commanded the *St. Jean Baptiste* under M. Caron.[2] In the *St. Jean* was also put M. Cloche, who was formerly a clerk in the Company, and who was now given a commission as treasurer and commissary-general of food, artillery, and munitions of war for the King in every port and place belonging to His Majesty in Ceylon. During the settlement of the people, orders, and munitions to be left for the defence of this important place, the princes and ambassadors of the King of Ceylon arrived with an escort of more than 2,000 fine active men at Kutiari, where the Viceroy and M. Caron had lately gone with all their ships, except the *St. Jean Baptiste*, left

[1] Martin (I, 349) says de la Haye held a Council meeting at which this decision was made. There are also references to it in the *Journal* (e.g. I, 219, 220, 228–9); it appears to have been taken on 5 June (ibid. 193).

[2] The *Journal* (I, 193) under date 6 June says: 'J'ay fait transporter par l'ordre de M. le Viceroy mes hardes dans le navire le Flamand, et sur les quatre heures du soir mon dit Sr. le Viceroy me vint faire reconnoître pour avoir le commandement sur le dit navire; il fit aussi reconnoître provisionairement le Sr. Herpin, Capitaine du S. Jean pour Capitaine du dit navire le Flamand.' This, besides confirming Carré's statements, points to Caron as the author of this part of the *Journal*, especially as the entry of 4 July says 'I', like the Viceroy, was engaged in writing to the Court and the Royal Company in France, which explains why the Appendix contains his letter of 4 July to Colbert. Again on 8 June, the writer is taken to Caron's cove to lay the first stone of the foundations for a storehouse to be built there; and who was more likely to be called on for this ceremony than Caron? There are other corroborative entries about his being consulted by the Viceroy over the negotiations with the Cingalese envoys and being present at his interviews with them (e.g. I, 194, 202–4, 207, 228). On the other hand the *Journal* must have been written by someone else up to his first meeting de la Haye at Swally on 12 November 1671 (i. 101); and thereafter he is mentioned as 'M. Carron' up to 30 March (I, 159) and again from 24 July (I, 245) to his departure on the *Jules* on 2 October (II, 4, 11, 15). Possibly the *Journal* was kept on the *Flamand*, and so Caron had control of it from the time (6 June) he was appointed her commander to 20 July, when she reached St. Thomé.

at the island of the Sun. They received the ambassadors there with as much pomp and magnificence as was then possible. There was an exchange of valuable presents, in which those given by the ambassadors were much richer than what they received. They stayed some days discussing the affairs relating to their embassy to the Viceroy.[1] They expressed their King's affection and esteem for the French nation, from whom they expected all help and protection. Finally they presented to the King of France Kutiari, Trincomalee, and adjacent places, on behalf of their King. M. de la Haye, lieutenant-general of His Majesty in these Eastern countries, drew up a formal declaration which he placed at the foot of the French flag on the island of the Sun. It was engraved in Latin on a brass plate in the following terms: 'Regnante Ludovico decimo quarto Francorum Rege: Cottiary, Trinquemaley, et omnium de istis locis dependentium, Regis Ceylon dono Franciae concessorum, adstantibus ejusdem Ceylon Regiae aulae proceribus militiaeque praefectis ad id expresse mandatis, possessionem sumpsit Jacob de la Haye prorex; utque notum sit omnibus et populis, in hac forma insculpi jussit; vetatque tanti Regis Majestas, ne quis audeat violare. Datum anno millesimo sexcentesimo septuagesimo secundo, post pascha.'[2]

As soon as these ambassadors left, the Viceroy made ready to leave Trincomalee with the fleet to carry out other projects. The lack of food was the first thing to be remedied, and the Coromandel coast was the best and the nearest place for this purpose as it was only two days distant. Accordingly it was resolved to take

[1] The *Journal* (I, 203–6, 207–10, 211–2, 225–9) shows that the envoys from the King of Kandy arrived at Kutiari about 15 June, with a Cingalese general and a force of some 3,500 men. De la Haye consequently went there with most of the fleet on the 17th, and had several interviews with them on the 20th and other days up to 7 July. The gift of the Bay of Trincomalee, etc., had been made in May; and de la Haye took possession accordingly and hoisted the French flag at Kutiari on 18 May (*Journal*, I, 178; Martin, I, 342).

[2] Martin (I, 348–9) corroborates this statement, saying the brass plate was put on up 19 June. A rough translation of the inscription runs: In the reign of Louis XIV, King of France, James de la Haye, Viceroy, took possession of Kutiari, Trincomalee, and all their dependencies, ceded by the King of Ceylon to France, in the presence of the nobles of that court and the military commanders expressly commissioned for that purpose; and so that it may be known to all peoples he has ordered it to be engraved in this form, and his royal Majesty forbids anyone from daring to transgress the grant. Given in the year 1672, after Easter.

the whole squadron there to get the necessary provisions, and afterwards to go to Bantam, where the King expected them.[1] He had heard they were at Ceylon and did not doubt that M. Caron would carry out his promise to return to Bantam with all the Viceroy's forces. He sent orders to the island of Banka, which belonged to him, to prepare shipping and put everything into order to receive the French on arrival with honour. If this plan had been carried out, his protection and friendship would undoubtedly have been of greater advantage to our nation and our affairs than the ill-considered enterprise [the capture of St. Thomé], which almost ruined our affairs, as will be seen later.

Previously it had been decided to repair the ship *Indienne*. The captain had already, with great trouble, cut some timber into planks, and prepared props and scaffolding for the work. He was, however, obliged to abandon it, as the squadron was in a hurry to sail, so the ship was beached in the bay of Trincomalee some time before the departure of the other vessels.[2] As to the *St. Jean Baptiste* of the Royal Company, which was also left behind in this bay, M. Dutrembley, commissary-general of the fleet,[3] was sent on board to receive M. Cloche, the commandant, with an order of M. Caron, which was published to the whole ship's company, to recognise M. Cloche as commandant, and to obey him in all things in the service of both the King and the Company.[4] The ship then became a sort of storehouse of powder, tinder, balls, guns, muskets, pistols, bayonets, uniforms, shoes, wearing apparel, workmen's and labourers' tools, provisions, and money for the pay of the garrison. All these things were in M. Cloche's hands, and were better protected in the ship than on the [large] island of

[1] On the other hand Caron's letter of 4 July (*Journal,* App. 24) says that he did not consider fifty Bankas equal to Trincomalee and Kutiari.

[2] The *Indienne* had been in trouble owing to leaks on the voyage to Trincomalee; and on 6 June it was decided to leave her behind there (*Journal,* 1, 150, 193). She was beached near the small island of the Sun (Martin, 1, 350).

[3] M. du Tremblay had been commissary-general of the squadron from its start (*Journal,* 1, 3). He was a Pole and died at St. Thomé on 5 Dec. 1672 (ibid. 11, 138).

[4] M. Cloche was a servant of the French Company who had embarked in de la Haye's fleet at Surat (Martin, 1, 629; *Journal,* 1, 140). He is mentioned by Delestre (137) as one of the three chief commanders left behind: for the other two see p. 424 *post*. The bulk of the crews of the *St. Jean* and the *Indienne* were used to reinforce the rest of the squadron (Martin, 1, 350).

the Sun, where there was no accommodation sheltered from rain or bad weather. However, more than three months' supply of powder and munitions was put on the island, and this was protected in many places under buffalo-skins, while a shed to be roofed with tiles was being built. Whatever was lacking, it was not money, munitions, or food, as there was a sufficient supply to last till October, when the Dutch ships would be obliged to retire on account of the terrible winds and storms which rage along this coast at this season, and against which there was no assured shelter but our bay of Trincomalee.[1] The essential things lacking for defence of this place were fortifications and soldiers, as our powerful enemies would not fail to make every effort to take it, before it was properly fortified, and the bad weather compelled them to leave.

These storehouses being thus well supplied and reconditioned, rules were drawn up for the pay and upkeep of the garrison.[2] These were as follows: one pound of rice or quichery [Hind. *khichri*, kedgeree] and half a pound of biscuit by day; a pint of brandy weekly, and a pound and a half of lard, for each man. For an infantry captain double rations, other officers one and a half rations, with a charge on their pay of one halfpenny [MS. *sol*] for bread ration, 28 halfpennies for a bottle of brandy, and four halfpennies per lb. of lard. This arrangement was necessary to oblige the officers and others to get their provisions on land, and thus to spare supplies in the storehouses, which might be wanted in case of a siege by the Dutch. A rule was then made as to pay: senior officers were paid according to the State regulations in France, soldiers and workmen, six halfpennies; lance-corporals [MS. *anspessades*], seven and a half; corporals, nine; sergeants, twelve.

After making these rules the Viceroy and M. Caron selected the officers who were to stay behind. These were a commandant, M.

[1] According to the *Bay of Bengal Pilot* (131, 140), the beginning of the north-east monsoon ordinarily sets in at Trincomalee about 15 October, but full monsoon conditions, with storms of extraordinary violence, do not become general until the end of November.

[2] The *Journal* (1, 193) says that on 6 and 7 June de la Haye made rules as to the number of men left behind, their wages, and the quantity, etc., of provisions and munitions of war. On the other hand on 14 June half of the provisions in the *St. Jean* were removed to the *Flamand* for the use of the squadron (*Journal*, 1, 202).

de Lesboris; intendant, Father Maurice Cordelier;[1] commissary and treasurer-general, M. Cloche; infantry captain, M. Dufresne; two infantry lieutenants; two lieutenants on half pay; two infantry ensigns, and two ensigns on half pay; an almoner; a storehouse-keeper; a clerk for provisions; two surgeons; three gunners; a clerk of the works; and sixteen workmen, i.e. masons, wood sawyers, carpenters, armourer, baker, etc.; together with about twenty men, both sick and well, who composed the complement of the *St. Jean Baptiste*. The two companies of M. Lesboris and M. Dufresne, which were much reduced in size and numbered only about ninety Frenchmen, were also left here, with some thirty native Christians and three companies, each of about sixty Cingalese, comprising with their officers, about two hundred natives, subjects of the King of Ceylon.[2] The latter relieved our soldiers and artisans of much labour, as they both worked and kept guard very well; but all these people were too few in number, even in peace-time, to undertake the fatigue of the works and plans to fortify this place, which was still by no means in a state of defence.

Monday, 7 July 1672. The Viceroy, who was at Kutiari with all his fleet, came over to the little island of the Sun in a pinnace to give final orders to the officers he was leaving behind. He left them instructions as to what they were to do in the event of an attack by the Dutch after his departure, and the signals they must make to him on his return from the Coromandel coast.[3] Having

[1] M. de Lesboris was an infantry captain, who was appointed governor of the fort on the Sun islet. Father Maurice Cordelier was a chaplain on board the flag-ship *Navarre*. Delestre (100) says that he was as good at mathematics as theology, and that at Trincomalee he applied himself with extraordinary ardour to trace out the fortifications, which he understood perfectly. Martin (1, 350) gives him a similar encomium. Rijkloff described him, on the other hand, as 'a stout, shameless, impudent fellow, who has given us much trouble, and still does so, railing and cursing so violently both us and our nation . . . '; and he shipped him to Batavia, deeming 'it . . . not advisable to allow [him] too much opportunity of examining our situation' (Khan's *Sources, &c.*, 294).

[2] That there were some Cingalese troops in the garrison is shown by the terms of surrender of 19 July, which made provision for them (Martin, 1, 369; Delestre, 168). On 7 July de la Haye asked for 200 Cingalese soldiers to be sent to the Sun islet; but the writer of the *Journal* thought they would not be supplied (1, 226, 229), and does not mention their subsequent arrival.

[3] The *Journal* (1, 228) confirms this final visit by de la Haye to the little island of the Sun. Martin (1, 350) says that he promised to be back in three months and really believed he would.

done this, he returned to Kutiari and sent M. de l'anclasse la Nerolle, first lieutenant of the *Triomphe*, as an ambassador to the King of Ceylon.[1] He was to tell the king that, owing to the negligence of his people in executing his orders to furnish provisions for our fleet, it had been obliged to go to the neighbouring coasts to get supplies, of which we would not have had any lack, had not the Dutch laid ambushes on sea and land, to compel our fleet to leave the place. In this they succeeded, though they had never dared themselves to enter the bay with their fifteen ships, in which they had all their forces,[2] as they did not wish to risk them in a fight, nor in an open war. They thus kept them entire and even added to them daily by a great number of French deserters, whom they enticed by offers of money and good employment. Our forces on the contrary visibly grew less by the loss of our ships, by desertions, and by deaths which carried off our bravest —among others M. de Turelle, commodore of the squadron, M. Degratlou, M. Bouillans, M. de Certainne, and many other fine officers, who died at Trincomalee,[3] full of grief at finding their hands tied, and themselves unable to ward off the insults, the outrages, and unheard of insolence, of the Dutch.

His Majesty's fleet was thus reduced by six ships—the *St. Jean de Bayonne*, which had been disarmed and left at Surat; the three ships sent for provisions, of which two had been captured by the Dutch; the *Indienne*, which had been beached at Trincomalee; and the *St. Jean Baptiste*, which was being left behind there. The rest

[1] The *Journal* (I, 226–7) mentions de la Haye's intention to send 'a man of quality and honour' to represent him at the king's court; and Martin (I, 350) states that M. de la Nerolle was sent accordingly. Robert Knox, *Historical Relation of Ceylon*, ed. 1911, pp. 295–9, gives an interesting account of his reception by the king. At first this was cordial, but later on the king's disappointment at the non-return of the fleet to Trincomalee and the ambassador's indiscreet conduct led to his being kept in chains for six months. This treatment was mitigated, but the unfortunate envoy, and other Frenchmen who had been sent to the court by de la Haye, were still in captivity, when Knox escaped in 1679.

[2] Some of the Dutch ships had, however, entered the bay, apparently to try to tempt the French fleet to begin hostilities, cf. *n.* 4 at p. 407 *ante*.

[3] The *Journal* (I, 160, 164–5) mentions the deaths of M. de Gratteloup, brigadier-general, on 31 March, and of M. le Chevalier de Certaine, captain of the *Jules*, and M. de Turelle in April. Martin (I, 337) also mentions the last two deaths, as well as of other officers, and adds that five or six soldiers and sailors were buried daily.

of the fleet had only half its crews[1] and funds, and was without provisions, so decided to leave the bay at a time when it was most needed there to finish off such a splendid enterprise. The retention of this port would have been most useful, as there was no other place in all the Indies where our Royal and Company's ships could safely pass the winter. It is quite certain that, if the fleet had undertaken this sole business, it would have accomplished it easily and would have been well recompensed for its toil and losses. But no! What could possibly have obliged our Chiefs to hurry their departure? Why could they not wait at least for the reply to the embassy to the King of Ceylon? They would then have learnt that he was raising soldiers on every side to come to their succour, that he was sending provisions and munitions to the island; that workmen and materials were forthcoming to fortify the place against enemy attacks; and that the king had resolved to exert all his power to uphold the honour and glory of the French in his country, as he wished them to be masters and lords over it. All this was being arranged at the court of the King of Kandy, for the service of our squadron, which, however, thought of nothing else but leaving the bay as quickly as possible. See the misery and customary misfortune of the French! Oh most inconstant and impatient of nations in the world! A nation that is really the most capable of undertaking great plans and doing glorious exploits, but that never knows what it is to gather palms and laurels by its works and conquests. No, I blame only your ill luck and your usual misfortune. I cannot blame the lieutenant-general of His Majesty and the director Caron—both the most experienced, brave, and prudent men ever seen in the East—without questioning the just and impartial choice made by the greatest monarch and the greatest genius, who have ever been seen in this world. I speak of our great Louis and his illustrious minister.[2] They honoured me by sending me to this eastern country to report on all that was being done there

[1] The fleet, when it left France, had a complement of 2,050 men; and in July 1672 it had only about 1,000, of which not more than about 300 were effective (*Journal*, 1, 2 and App. 28).

[2] As Kaeppelin remarks (95), Carré was too much the 'good courtier' to throw the blame openly for the ill success of this enterprise on its appointed leaders, de la Haye and Caron; nevertheless his real sentiments (e.g. at p. 419 *ante*) indirectly accuse them. It required considerable courage on his part to say what he did about them in a Journal that was to be shown to Colbert and the General Chamber of the Company.

for the glory and service of our most Christian Majesty, and I trust they will have the goodness to forgive me the liberty I now take in showing them my fidelity and sincerity in that employment.

Saturday, 9 *July* 1672. His Majesty's fleet of eight ships (the *Navarre, Breton, Flamand, Jules, Triomphe, Diligente, Sultane,* and *Barbot*) set sail in the morning and left the island of Ceylon for the Coromandel coast. At noon, while going near the coast of Ceylon, it passed about half a cannon-shot away from the Dutch fleet, which was anchored near the land, with their topsails set and broadsides bearing [MS. *costé en travers*], ready for defence if it was attacked. Our fleet, however, passed straight by without speaking with the Dutch, who did not alter their position.[1] When our squadron was out of sight of the land, the Viceroy, who had made the *Barbot* ready for dispatch to France, put all his papers and those of M. Caron into the hands of M. Deborgard, who was going to France by this ship. M. de la Ratturierre, aide-de-camp, and M. Bretancourt, captain of the *Diligente,* also sailed in her, as the Viceroy had given them leave to return.[2] The *Barbot* left the same day for Europe, with orders to touch at the island of Bourbon [Réunion], as there were goods and clothing on board for the French inhabitants there.[3]

Sunday, 10 *July* 1672. A ship arrived at Trincomalee laden with rice and other food for the French, a present from Ceylon nobles. They notified us that they were near the village of Tampalakam where they waited some time, but as none of our people went to meet them, they returned. Finally a couple of Frenchmen were sent, but too late. They found only some natives who were waiting for someone to come and fetch buffaloes and other beasts and food. We wanted to pay for these provisions, as well as for what had been sent previously;[4] but the blacks would take nothing,

[1] The *Journal* (I, 230–1) speaks of the French 'bearding the Dutch fleet to know if they had anything to do with us'. Martin (I, 351) says the latter were still moored near their fort.

[2] The *Journal* (I, 178, 180, 230) shows M. 'Deborgard' to have been M. de Beauregard, captain of the guards. M. Bretancourt had been appointed to the command of the *Diligente* at Madagascar in December 1671 (ibid. I, 53).

[3] That the *Barbaut* was to touch at Bourbon is confirmed by the *Journal* (I, 231). The colonisation of Réunion by the French began in 1654 (*Enc. Brit.*, XIX, 236).

[4] Thus Martin (I, 337) speaks of provisions coming in slowly there, and the *Journal* (I, 106, 188, 194) of buffaloes, fowls, and milk, having been received from the Cingalese in May and June.

saying it had all come from the king, who had also ordered his nobles to furnish the French with provisions and everything else they wanted. The nobles had gone inland to get more munitions and refreshments; but all this was useless, as the Dutch were only waiting for our fleet's departure from Trincomalee to seize the bay. They heard from spies, whom they had on land, of the preparations made on all sides by the king to help the French. They also knew of the state of the place, of the few soldiers left to defend it, and that food and military stores were shut up in a ship with only twelve men as guard. They lost no time and made ready to take the place with every chance of success.

Monday, 11 *July* 1672. The French officers at Trincomalee, having heard that the Cingalese nobles were returning to the village of Tampalakam, prepared to visit them and collect the provisions, which were being sent from every side. But they were diverted from this visit to attend to more important and urgent business. They saw the whole Dutch fleet in full sail approaching the entrance to the mouth of the large bay; but as a contrary high wind prevented them from entering, they cast anchor under the shelter of the mountains of Cape Breton.[1] Our people were now convinced that they were about to be attacked by the Dutch. They, therefore, disembarked from the supply-ship *St. Jean* all they thought necessary for the defence of the Sun island. Well knowing that this ship would be the first one attacked, M. de Lesboris and the Father [Maurice] Cordelier, the intendant, wished to take out all the money also, as they thought it would be safer in their hands on land than in the ship; thereupon the treasurer [M. Cloche], who was in charge of both the ship and the money, raised some difficulties, but finally agreed to let them have 9,000 livres, which he gave into their hands. He kept the rest for the pay of the garrison, which was the last they received in this place.

The following day, the 12th, the Cingalese nobles, surprised and astonished at the non-arrival of the French officers, sent men to Kutiari, who signalled with a white flag an urgent request for

[1] 'The mountains of Cape Breton' probably mean the two straight-topped hills lying parallel with each other, the Elephant and Ostenberg ridges, with Nicholson cove, a narrow inlet, between them (*Bengal Pilot*, 135). According to Martin (1, 366) the Dutch fleet entered the Great Bay on 11 July and anchored off small Sober island; but probably Carré's more detailed account is correct.

someone to be sent to confer with them on the subject of the great help the king was preparing, in both men and provisions: but alas! these generous princes and lords waited in vain. Our fleet had decided to give up the project, and the few French left behind were quite unable to join them.[1] The wind now being favourable, the Dutch ships entered the bay and anchored by an island near Kutiari.[2] They were twelve in number and in the evening their admiral, Sr. Rijkloff, launched a boat and went himself to make soundings in the little bay, which is at the west of the Flamand Point. Next day [*sic*], the 14th, he advanced with all his ships, and at noon sent some armed boats to Flamand Point. On landing there, the first thing the Dutch did was to tear to pieces the French flag, which was flying there.[3]

Friday, 15 *July* 1672. Five Dutch ships, coming from Batavia with food and munitions for their fleet, entered the bay of Trincomalee and anchored under its flag.[4] The ensuing night the Dutch made a descent on the large Sun island. There they killed some of the blacks who had their huts on it; while the remainder saved themselves by swimming to the little Sun island, where the French were.[5]

The following day, the 16th, about seven in the morning, the Dutch, in full view of the Frenchmen on the little island, hoisted their flag on the Point Breton, and pulled down and tore to pieces the French flag on the large island. Afterwards they worked on the east point of this island to install some pieces of artillery; they were so close to us that the whole day was spent in skirmishes between the two islands with muskets—the Dutch under the

[1] On 5 and 7 July de la Haye fully explained to the Cingalese envoys the reasons for his leaving Trincomalee and consoled them with a promise to return in a short time, if possible (*Journal*, 1, 225–7, 228–9).

[2] This may have been Pigeon island or Round island, off Marble Point (*Bengal Pilot*, 129, 130), which seem the nearest to Kutiari.

[3] The French flag had been hoisted at a point on the south-west shore of the Great Bay, which is marked O in the French map of 1672. The *Journal* (1, 187) records that on 29 May de la Haye had it put up at a point of the Bay, where the *Flamand* was anchored. This explains why it came to be known as Flamand Point.

[4] See Batavia letter of 31 July (cited in Khan's *Sources, &c.*, 295) as to their having been sent thence to Ceylon.

[5] Martin (1, 366–7) also mentions the occupation of this island by the Dutch on 16 July.

shelter of some ship's boats and one of our longboats which they had taken, finding it abandoned, and the French behind palisades. So the day passed, and all the next day; meanwhile the Dutch worked at their battery on the east point, which was trained on our ship the *St. Jean Baptiste* and on the little island.[1] It is certain that, if our people had only done their duty with their artillery, both in the ship and on the little island, they could have prevented the preparations that the Dutch were making in full view and within musket-shot. One must almost believe that the French did not wish to irritate their enemy, by whom they hoped soon to be made prisoners, so that they might come to some favourable arrangement with them. There was only one passage by the large island to the north-east, which was very narrow and therefore easy to defend, if our people had really wished to prevent the Dutch boats and small craft from entering.[2] There was absolutely no other way but that one, for them to approach and make their preparations. It looks as if the whole thing had been pre-arranged and as if it had been long settled between them not to hurt one another.

Monday, 18 *July* 1672. The Dutch, having resolved to begin by the seizure of the *St. Jean*, which they knew was the principal French defence, armed several boats and sent them off at night. These passed the strait without hindrance; and on arrival beside the *St. Jean* they seized her without any bloodshed on either side. They then made all her people prisoners,[3] and took them to their fort, where General Rijkloff received them most civilly. He assured them that they would be treated with all kindness, saying he was a great friend of the French, and that he had been constrained to use force to take the place, which he pretended the French had unjustly usurped from the Dutch Company.

The French on the island, seeing their supply-ship in the hands of the Dutch, now sent a deputation to General Rijkloff, who

[1] Martin (I, 366–7) corroborates Carré as to the Dutch establishing a battery on this island about 16 July, saying it was very inconvenient to the French on the smaller island, as they had no cover from its fire.

[2] From the context, especially the reference to the north-east, it seems that Carré means the strait between the large Sober island and the small one.

[3] Martin (I, 367) says that the Dutch used 20 boats for this attack, and that there were only 14 Frenchmen in the *St. Jean*, who were soon overpowered and were afterwards taken away in irons by a Dutch vessel.

agreed to the armistice asked for.[1] The place was then handed over to the Dutch, and the French left with all their belongings, baggage, and everything valuable they could take away. They abandoned the artillery, munitions, and other things belonging to the king, as spoil to their enemy. They were such cowards that they thought only of their own interests in making this settlement: they had not the courage to ask for the libery of some three hundred poor Cingalese subjects of the King of Ceylon, from whom they had received all possible help. As a reward, they were abandoned to the rage and resentment of their most cruel enemy, who hanged some and, after loading the others with chains, sent them to work on the fortifications of their little bay.[2]

After these executions, the Dutch carefully considered the plans and traces of the fortifications, which the French had laid out in the bay of Trincomalee. They judged it wise to continue the same, to assure the future of such an important place, and left people behind capable of continuing and finishing these works. They did not believe, judging by what had passed, that this would entail any war with the French, and neither side had had any news of what was happening [i.e. the outbreak of war] in Europe. The Dutch now prepared all their ships for voyages to the Coromandel coast, Pulicat, Masulipatam, Bengal, and other places, to load merchandise and take it to Batavia. They intended to send all the French prisoners to that place; so they assembled them at Negapatam, which was the rendezvous of the fleet, and dispersed them among the ships,[3] one of which was sent straight to Batavia. In her went Father Maurice, the former intendant, with some other Frenchmen, among whom were two soldiers, one from St. Denis in France and the other from Rennes in Brittany. These two were put in irons and condemned to be hanged on arrival at Batavia,

[1] According to Martin (1, 367) the fort on the small island was still in the hands of the French on 19 July, and fired on the Dutch. Rijkloff prepared to attack it in force, whereupon Captain de Lesboris called a Council. This resulted in Father Maurice being sent to the Dutch and a capitulation being arranged, the terms of which are given in full by Martin (367–70). They correspond to the copy of them in Dutch records (Khan's *Sources, &c.*, 291–3).

[2] This passage is not quite fair to the French left at Trincomalee. They asked to be allowed to take away their munitions, etc., and for the Cingalese to be set at liberty at Kutiari (Martin, 1, 368, 369). The Dutch refusals were, however, apparently accepted without any remonstrance.

[3] Delestre (164, 169) confirms this statement

because they had left the Dutch service and returned to the French. They had been retaken on board the *Phoenix*.[1] Remonstrances were made to the Dutch general that they had left the Dutch service only on express orders from the King of France to all Frenchmen in India to leave foreign service; and each of them had an extract from this Order of Council. The Dutch, however, jeered at this order of the King of France, and had the insolence to hang these two miserable creatures with the said order in their pockets.[2]

So ended our fleet's enterprise in the island of Ceylon. Let us follow it closely and see the result of its other undertakings and plans. It had been resolved to go to Bantam to take possession of the island of Banka, but M. Després, captain of the *Europe*, on being captured by the Dutch, divulged a sealed order, which was given him to open on his return to Trincomalee. This directed him, in case he did not find the fleet there, to go straight to Bantam, where it was intended to proceed on an enterprise considered the most important in the East.

Our fleet, having left Trincomalee on the 9th July, as I have shown, soon arrived on the Coromandel coast and first anchored just off Tranquebar, a place belonging to the Danish Company. Our Viceroy and officers were received with all possible friendship and courtesy by the Danish governor, who furnished them with food and refreshments and everything else they asked of him.[3] The fleet, after three days' stay there, set sail and touched at Porto Novo, a place belonging to the King of Bijapur.[4] His Moor governor there showed so much friendship to our nation that he could not do enough to express his zeal to serve the French. While our ships were taking in provisions at Porto Novo, the prince of all the territory from there to Negapatam, on learning of the

[1] The *Europe* was sent direct to Batavia with 100 French prisoners, including Father Maurice, arriving there on 12 October (Khan's *Sources, &c.*, 302). As to the two French soldiers, Delestre (144–5) says they were 'put to death' by the Dutch Governor of Negapatam, to whom Rijkloff had referred their punishment for desertion; but they may have been sent to Batavia for execution.

[2] Carré reported this incident in his letter of 22 January 1674 to Colbert, cf. Kaeppelin's statement (93) that the two men were 'ignominiously' hanged.

[3] The *Journal* (1, 232–7) and Martin (1, 352) confirm Carré as to the good reception of the fleet at Tranquebar. It reached that place on 12 July.

[4] The fleet left Tranquebar on 16 July, and arrived at Porto Novo the next day (*Journal*, 1, 239–40). The latter belonged to the King of Bijapur, who was ousted in 1677 by Shivaji.

arrival of our squadron on the coast, sent ambassadors with presents to our Viceroy and, as a token of his friendship, offered him two very convenient places in this country for the establishment of a French factory. In reply to these civilities and obliging offers the Viceroy sent the prince some of his officers with presents; they also visited the two places offered by him to the King of France, and reported on them.[1] One which was called Tranquemennas, and was situated between Tranquebar and Porto Novo, they described as being in an agreeable place, fertile, with good markets, and very convenient for trade, having a fine river that was navigable for large and fully laden vessels. This induced the Viceroy to send two intelligent persons to take possession of it, and to live there pending a decision as to settling a larger establishment at the place.[2] After making these arrangements the plan was to go to Bantam; but the Viceroy and M. Caron, who were still badly off for provisions, resolved not to leave this Coromandel coast until they were well provided with everything necessary for the Banka enterprise. For this reason, when they had finished their business at Porto Novo, they followed the coast to the north to visit other towns and take provisions in the larger places.

[1] Neither the *Journal* nor Martin support Carré's statements as to envoys being sent to Porto Novo. According to the Journal (I, 240–1), the fleet left Porto Novo on 18 July without taking in any provisions; but, though its stay was short, there would be time for de la Haye to receive the envoys and make arrangements to investigate the prince's offer. The bottom of p. 445 *post* shows him to have been the Naik of Tanjore, whose capital of that name was only some 60 miles from Porto Novo.

[2] Cf. *n.* 4 at p. 445 *post*. The only place that seems to correspond to Carré's description of 'Tranquemennas' is Tirumavasul, which is situated on the Uppanar branch of the R. Cauvery (*Tanjore Dist. Gaz.*, I, 3, 5, 259; *Bengal Pilot*, 162, *s.v.* 'Tirmelwassel'). Bowrey (XXXIII) calls it 'Trimlevass', and Manucci (III, 242, IV, 450) 'Trimanas'. Carré may have mistaken its pronunciation, or wrongly read his note of the name, when writing up the Journal.

NOTE
THE VIEW OF ST. THOMÉ

This view, which was also reproduced at p. 330, vol. 1, of Love's *Vestiges of Old Madras*, has been taken from a plate at p. 138 in Churchill's *Voyages*, vol. 2. That in turn is a version of a plate at p. 106 in the second part of the book *Zee-en-Lant Reize*, Amsterdam, 1682, describing the travels of John Nieuhoff in the East Indies.

We think, however, that the plate is based on a sketch made at a date later than that of John Nieuhoff's visit to the Coromandel coast, which was in 1662. He disappeared in Madagascar (presumably killed by the natives) in August 1672, and the book of his travels was published after his decease by his brother Henry. Note 3 on the Dutch plate describes one of the buildings shown as 'Franse buyten wacht', which appears on the English version as 'Y^e^ French outgards'; but the French did not occupy St. Thomé till July 1672.

The picture was probably drawn by a Dutchman between September 1673 and the middle of 1674. The flags on the ships, though not coloured, appear to represent the Dutch flag,[1] as it is shown on Dutch ships at the port of Cochin in a later plate in Nieuhoff's book. A similar flag is drawn on a small building between those marked 4 and 5 on the plate. No. 4 is evidently the Triplicane temple, dedicated to Parthasārathi (Love, 1, 322, *n.* 2; *Madras Tercentary Volume*, p. 356 and plate opposite p. 366), parts

[1] I.e. the tricolor of horizontal red, white, and blue stripes, which had been in use for at least 30 years by 1673 (*Enc. Brit.*, IX, 348). The 'outguard at sea', No. 6 in the view, was also probably Dutch, as it is not described as French, like the outguard near St. Thomé (No. 3), and the Dutch fleet was then blockading that place. This consisted of only two ships (as shown in the view) from February to 1 May 1674, when both they and the *Breton* foundered in a cyclone (Martin, 1, 572–3, 597, 610, 612, 616, 622).

1 The City of St Thomas
2 a Wooden Battery
3 3 French Outyards
4 a Pagan Temple called St Trudlicart
5 a Stone Battery
6 3 Outyards at Sea
St Thomas & the Coast
COMMANDED

VIEW OF ST. THOMÉ, *c.* 1673–4
From Churchill's Voyages, *after John Nieuhoff*

of which date back to the Pallava dynasty. This temple[1] was occupied by the Moors in September 1672 (Martin, I, 393; Love, I, 322), and was taken by the French in March 1673 (Martin, I, 433; Love, I, 325). But when the Dutch advanced against St. Thomé, they captured the temple in September 1673, and fortified its vicinity by erecting a small wooden fort, and a palisade of coco-nut trees round about, with a moat. They also installed a battery with a garrison of 100 men to secure landings, as three of their ships were anchored off the pagoda (Martin, I, 518, 522; Love, I, 328–9). It seems probable that the fort is the building with a flag over it between those numbered 4 and 5 in the picture, that the palisade is the rough hedging shown round this fort and the pagoda, and that the battery was in building No. 5, described in the Dutch plate as 'Pagger',[2] and in the English version as 'a stone battery', which may refer to the material of the building or indicate its containing guns for throwing stonės, scrap-iron, etc., at the enemy; cf. the note as to 'pateraros' in vol. 3, chap. VIII, under 15 July 1674.

[1] The temple is named 'Trivilicuri' both on the Dutch plate and in the English version. This seems to be a variant of 'Trivilicani', corresponding to the then common spelling of 'Triplicane'. Thus Martin calls it 'Trivilcany', while Carré writes it 'Trivelicany' (p. 569). The Madras Council spoke of it as 'Trivelicane' in 1674 (Hobson-Jobson, *s.v.* Triplicane, which gives its suggested origin as *Tiru-valli-kēdi*). The unjustifiable interpolation of 'St.' before 'Trivilicuri' in the English version may have been intended to refer to its deity —a guess made in ignorance of the real significance of the name.

[2] In the 'Woordeboek van Nederlandschen Taal', 1931, vol. 12, part 2, p. 151, the word 'pagger' is derived from Malay *pāgar*, meaning a hedge, fence, or railing. Extracts from Valentijn give it the sense of enclosure or stockade. See also Hobson-Jobson, p. 652, *s.v. pagar*.

CHAPTER IV

THE FRENCH AT ST. THOMÉ (July 1672—April 1673)

Thursday, 21 *July* 1672. His Majesty's fleet arrived off the town of St. Thomé, which is on the seashore, and cast anchor near it in about ten fathoms.[1] At the same time our Viceroy fitted out several boats and sent some officers ashore with money to ask the inhabitants for provisions on payment. This town is the most important on the Coromandel coast,[2] and has a great reputation for trade and commerce in all sorts of lovely calicoes and the best dyes in all the country. It had been built by the Portuguese, who maintained it for a long time in some splendour and to the great advantage of their trade; but they had become decadent all over India, and their pride, arrogance, and manner of government, had rendered them so odious wherever they were that the natives of the country, noticing their gradual decline, caused by wars with the Dutch and other European nations, availed themselves of it to drive them from the best places they had usurped. This encouraged the King of Golconda, one of the richest and most powerful princes in the East, to undertake their expulsion from the town of St. Thomé. He sent a powerful army of Moors, and attacked them in 1660 [should be 1662]. The Portuguese were obliged to abandon the town after a seven months' siege, and retired to other places where they had factories.[3] Since that time the town had

[1] The fleet arrived before St. Thomé about 6 p.m. on 20 July (*Journal*, 1, 242; Martin, 1, 353).

[2] Cf. Fryer, 1, 115: 'a city that formerly for riches, pride, and luxury, was second to none in India', and Hamilton, 1, 198: 'the city of St. Thomas was formerly the best mart town on the Choromandel coast'.

[3] The Golconda troops may have been sent to St. Thomé in 1660 or 1661, but the actual attack did not start till 1662, cf. Love, 1, 197. The true story of the matter is given by Sir William Foster in a note on p. 146 of *E.F.*, 1661–4. The Dutch had set covetous eyes on St. Thomé, and the Portuguese, getting to know of their design, asked the King of Golconda for protection. He accordingly sent troops to it under Neknam Khan, but the Portuguese, mistrusting their intentions, refused them admittance. The Dutch then asked the king to drive out the Portuguese and accept themselves in their place (August 1661). The king appeared to assent and sent orders accordingly to Neknam Khan; but the Dutch fleet was called away for some reason and the Portuguese remained on the defensive. A report that St. Thomé was about to be ceded to

been in the hands of the Moors under the King of Golconda. They were suspicious, and with some reason, of the hat-men [MS. *les gens de chappeau*, cf. Hind. topīwālā], and refused an entry to the Frenchmen whom our Viceroy had sent on shore. They made them quickly re-embark in their boats, and would not give them a single thing they asked for.[1] Irritated by this refusal, our Viceroy next day brought his ships into about five fathoms, and at a range of half a cannon-shot of the town fired a salvo with all the guns of the fleet, which so terrified the Moors that they hoisted a white flag on the highest bastion of the town overlooking the sea.[2] We then ceased fire, while the Moors sent a large boat filled with provisions brought by a man of position, who came to beg pardon for the refusal of the preceding day. He declared it had been done in ignorance, as they had not known we were French. Our Viceroy refused to take the food and told the emissary in reply that he proposed to take possession of the town in satisfaction for this insult, or at any rate that they must pay the cost of the cannon-shots fired by the ships. On this the Moor asked how many shots had been fired, and the price to be paid for them. The answer was that there had been 5,000 shots at ten pagodas or twenty crowns each. The Moor did not know what to reply, as he saw the sum demanded was 100,000 écus. He said he could make no promise in regard to this demand without consulting their general, Montelnahika [Mandala Naik], who was only half a day's journey away at the fortress of Pontmaly [Poonamallee]; and that, while awaiting his reply, our French might go on shore for food and everything they wanted, which would be furnished in abundance. Thereupon our Viceroy told him he did not want his provisions, but must have satisfaction in three days: otherwise he would take

the English roused the king, who desired neither them nor the Dutch there, to order its capture, which was soon effected in 1662, as the Dutch helped by blockading it at sea.

[1] According to the *Journal* (1, 242–5) and Martin (1, 353–4) sailors and officers sent ashore on the 21st and 22nd met with resistance to their landing; also the governor was insolent to those who reached him, and forbad the inhabitants to sell anything to the French.

[2] After a Council meeting, which decided on an attack, all the vessels were moved within cannon-shot of the town during the night of the 22nd (*Journal*, 1, 245). The firing did not, however, begin till the next day; this together with the landing of a force of musketeers, led to the Moors hoisting a white flag on one of the bastions (*Journal*, 1, 245–6; Martin, 1, 354–5, cf. Love, 1, 314).

the town in spite of everything.[1] The Viceroy went on shore the same day, and was received by many Portuguese and native Christians, who lived on the outskirts of the place, and who accompanied him wherever he went. He walked round the town two or three times, to study the places and spots at which it could be attacked. Two Portuguese Paulist Fathers, who since the capture of the town by the Moors had lived in the outskirts with their Christians, were the first to implore him to seize it.[2] They informed him of the ease with which this could be done, because of the weakness and small number of the inhabitants, who had no guns nor munitions, and were almost without arms.

The Viceroy was half persuaded by these arguments, and was charmed with the beauty of the place, surrounded as it was by all sorts of fruit-trees, with two lovely rivers,[3] and many tanks, as well as a great number of villages, pagodas, and country houses that provided large revenues to the town. He returned to the ships and consulted with M. Caron as to the decision he should make in this affair. They received a letter from Father Ephraim, French Capuchin, and superior at the Madras Mission, who knew everything that was passing in this country and was overjoyed to see French ships, hitherto unknown on this coast. He believed he would bring off a great coup and render a signal service to the chief of our fleet by sending this letter. In it he invited the Viceroy to take St. Thomé, and said that Europeans would never find a better occasion than the present for this feat, as there had been no governor there for some months, nor was there anyone of sufficient position to undertake the defence of the town. There was, therefore, no time

[1] This story does not appear in the *Journal*, nor in Martin's *Mémoires*; it also conflicts with evidence that de la Haye had landed with 400 men before the firing began, and that, when it ceased, he made the tour of the town next mentioned by Carré, during which he was met by a party from the governor, and was promised all the provisions he needed (*Journal*, I, 246–7; Martin, I, 355–6). On the other hand Chardin (*Voyages*, ed. 1735, I, 304, tr. Argonaut Press, p. 4) gives a similar story of de la Haye's demand for payment of 20 crowns a shot for 5,300 shots within 3 days: otherwise he would take the town.

[2] The *Journal* (I, 246–7) says that de la Haye used a Portuguese padri as interpreter in the town, and brought back with him a Portuguese Jesuit. Martin (I, 356) adds that the latter was accompanied by several Portuguese inhabitants, who told him about the state of the country, its beauty, etc.

[3] These two rivers are doubtless the Adyar and a backwater formed by that river (cf. Love, I, 299).

to lose, as the Moor general was at Poonamallee, only half a day away by road, and could send troops, if once warned of the design to take the town. Consequently our gentlemen, won over by these solicitations, and also impelled by the desire to acquire glory, no longer hesitated, and firmly resolved to attack and endeavour to seize the place.[1]

But a little less haste was necessary in such an important affair; and it seems to me that it was of sufficient consequence to need more reflection as to the probable outcome of such an enterprise. The Paulist Fathers and other Portuguese instigators, who made out that the thing was easy, were moved by their own interests, hoping by this means to get back their houses in the town and the property they formerly held in the country. The French Capuchin Fathers at Madras were more bent on having the satisfaction of seeing us do some brilliant exploit than on giving any thought to its political results. Our gentlemen, though eager for the chance of acquiring honour and glory, ought to have reflected that the honour or blame in every great enterprise depends on the consequences arising from it.

Let us see what honour or glory was gained by that at Trincomalee in Ceylon. What useful purpose was achieved by the visit to Goa to show off the pomp, magnificence, and liberality of our nation? What a considerable loss of men and time our fleet incurred in the war waged in the rocks, deserts, and mountains on the island of Madagascar? What glory, what profits, what honour, were obtained for our king and nation in all these enterprises? Nothing but the loss of half of our fleet, two-thirds of their crews, the waste of His Majesty's money, the loss of ships and goods belonging to our Company, and the dishonour of our nation. Notwithstanding all these losses and the small strength to which our squadron was reduced, our gentlemen decided to embark on an enterprise, the events in which will sufficiently show that, before such large undertakings are begun, serious thought is needed to forecast all the results likely to arise.

But no! M. Caron no longer remembered his plan for Banka.

[1] The *Journal* (I, 247–8) supports these statements as to the Viceroy having received a letter from Father Ephraim, and the advice it contained to strike swiftly, etc. It also says that de la Haye held a Council meeting on 24 July, and because of the insults of the Moors finally decided to attack the town next day.

He quite forgot his word to the King of Bantam to go there with the French forces. He thought no more of this king, who had a passionate desire to serve the French, and had sent orders and done everything at Banka, so that our squadron should be received with every possible honour. He did not reflect on what his experience and great knowledge of these Eastern countries ought to have made plain to him, that the possession of Banka would be much more advantageous and of greater consequence to our nation and to our Company's trade than the capture of St. Thomé. At Banka we were going to open the way for trade in cloves, nutmegs, and other such choice merchandise, which are not found anywhere else in the world. At Banka we would find a king and people who longed for us fervently, and who would have assisted us with all their power and protection, until reinforcements and help arrived from France. At Banka we would find a place for the safety of the rest of the ships and the forces of his most Christian Majesty. Finally the many advantages and benefits gained by the possession of Banka would have compensated us for all the past losses, whereas on wresting St. Thomé by force from the hands of the Moors, we ran the risk of losing our well-established trade at Masulipatam, which is the centre of all commerce on the Coromandel coast, in Bengal, Manilla, China, etc. We would also incur the enmity of one of the most powerful kingdoms in the East; and we were going to embark on a war which would end only in the total destruction of the rest of our squadron and his Christian Majesty's trade in India.[1] Furthermore we were going to arouse the furious jealousy of the English, whose policy it would be to make every effort to ruin us, realising the great prejudice to their trade and commerce our nation would bring them as near neighbours to Madras, their principal settlement in the country. However, none of these essential and weighty considerations prevented the two Chiefs from launching this dangerous enterprise.

Our Viceroy and M. Caron, having finally decided to take the place by storm, sent 300 well-armed men on shore with three

[1] Cf. Bernier's advice to Caron, whom he met at Surat in 1668, that above everything the French should avoid the use of force, and should seek to remove the fear current among the Mughals that they were a warlike nation and might become too powerful, if allowed to trade in India (see translation of his memoir by Sir Theodore Morison in JRAS., Jan. 1933, pp. 2–3; Kaeppelin, 26–7).

small field-pieces, and went themselves in command of the attack. Before disembarking they left orders to the fleet about action on the signals they would receive from the shore, to wit, as soon as they saw a red flag, they were to open fire on the town with all their guns, which was to cease only on the appearance of a white flag. They then landed with the troops, but in so doing were compelled to beach all their boats as the sea was too rough for an ordinary landing. The Moors had sent to warn their general, Mandala Naik, of the French menace, and waited impatiently either for help or for a reply—both arrived, but too late. Seeing our French disembarking in such numbers, they became alarmed. They were not sure, however, that we intended to attack the town, so they did nothing to hinder the landing, but worked day and night to evacuate women, children, and useless people, as well as all their fine furniture and merchandise, and had the time to make everything secure from a surprise. They had now nothing else to do but to prepare for the defence of the town. They had some pieces of artillery, which to the best of their ability they placed on the bastions commanding the sea and trained on our ships. They made ready all the arms found in the place, and disposed their small forces on the bastions and about the walls, whence they could watch our movements. We made the tour of the environs and found two spots favourable to our plans: a wall without a parapet to the north, which could be scaled, and on the opposite side, i.e. to the south, a little hidden gate at the end of a high and strong wall. The Viceroy gave the Moors to understand that he wished to attack here, in order to attract them all to that spot. They saw the French were training all their batteries on this gate, so rushed to its defence, as was hoped. They worked on their side to block the gate inside with bricks, lime, and cement, and then posted themselves on the south walls and bastions, where they skirmished day and night with our troops, who were entrenched among the trees at the foot of their walls.[1]

25 *July* 1672. *St. James's Day*. At dawn our ships before St. Thomé saw the red flag signal and opened a sustained fire on the town. This attracted a part of the Moors to that side to fire some

[1] This account of the preparations for the attack, which covers events of 23 and 24 July, appears substantially correct. According to Martin (I, 356–7), whose account is summarised by Love, I, 314–5, the troops numbered about 400 and had four field-pieces with them.

of their own artillery, which was trained seawards. But it had no effect, as the balls were of stone, and the Moors had not much skill or experience in working cannon. Our troops then showed themselves drawn up beside the Viceroy and M. Caron with their field-guns, which were firing on the small south gate, so the rest of the Moors in the town all rushed to defend it. They did not suspect any surprise or *ruse de guerre*, not knowing that they had to deal with a cunning and capable man in such matters, as was our Viceroy. The previous night he had secretly had two long ladders brought and hidden in the grass at the foot of the wall without a parapet on the Madras side to the north of the town.[1] He dispatched M. de Rebrey, infantry captain, with half his land-forces to this wall at the time he deemed fit, when all the Moors were occupied with the two attacks made from the sea and the south side. Our men defiled through the woods which almost surround the town, without being seen by the besieged, and arrived at the wall without a parapet, where they planted their ladders. Captain de Rebrey led the way, sword in hand, and was followed bravely by all his men. Having scaled the wall, which was very low inside, they drew themselves up in battle order and marched to the centre of the town, with drums beating and flags flying. The Moors, whose army numbered over 1000—more than sufficient to hew us all in pieces, if they had had the courage to do it—rushed from all sides at the sound of the drums. Our men with assurance and martial pride were not alarmed by so many enemies, but went straight towards them, so that they met face to face, within pistol-shot, in the middle of the largest street. Captain de Rebrey, who led his troops in good battle order, with their matches ready, now called a halt to parley with the Moors, who also stopped. He asked them where their commandant was, and they replied proudly that he was in the middle of his troops. On that Captain de Rebrey ordered them to put down their arms, which they refused to do. This resistance obliged our troops to discharge their muskets into the midst of the Moors, killing several and wounding others; the rest then threw down their arms and abandoned their commandant, who was taken, sabre in hand.[2]

[1] Both the *Journal* (1, 248) and Martin (1, 357) mention de la Haye's order to prepare these ladders on 24 July.

[2] This account of the capture of St. Thomé is substantially corroborated by Martin (1, 357–8, cf. Love, 1, 315), the *Journal* (1, 248–9), and Delestre

During this time one of our soldiers, among the last to scale the wall, came into the town, after the others. As he was wandering about the streets with only a musket in his hand, without knowing how or where to join his comrades, he met a well-armed Moor, carrying the keys of the town. He showed great reluctance to give them up, so our French soldier shot him in the body and he fell at his feet. The soldier then disarmed the Moor, took his bunch of keys, and rejoined his troop with his prize.[1] The seizure of the town so terrified the Moors that, although they saw one of the gates opened to admit the Viceroy, most of them flung themselves down from the walls, as the gate was not large enough to let them out, so great was the crowd and confusion in which they fled. As soon as the Viceroy and M. Caron had made their victorious entry into the town, they hoisted the French flag on the highest bastion facing the sea. Our ships, on seeing this, ceased their fire, which had been continual since daybreak, knowing by the position of this signal that we were masters of the place.[2]

Afterwards our Viceroy, who has always joined piety to his great courage and other virtues, had the cathedral opened. It was dedicated to the great apostle, St. Thomas, in whose honour this fine town was built by the Portuguese and named St. Thomé in memory of the miracles and marvels that he had performed hereabout [cf. vol. I, p. 219, *n.* 1]. The Viceroy had the 'Te Deum laudamus', etc., sung by the Paulist Fathers, with other important Portuguese and several native Christians. He also allowed the Fathers to take possession of their house and church, which they found in quite a good condition; as was also the magnificent convent of St. Dominic, which was in a nearly perfect condi-

(171–3). According to the *Journal,* II, 2–3, the Moor garrison then numbered 700 men, of whom 80 were killed, 350 escaped by a gate, 200 by leaping over the walls, and 120 were made prisoners (including the governor and his son).

[1] The *Journal* (I, 249) says that the soldier obtained the keys from a Moor, who fled, and that he handed them to the Viceroy, when he came to join M. de Rebrey at the big gate.

[2] According to the *Journal* (I, 250), the ships continued firing till a white flag was substituted for the red one, which had been the signal for starting to fire; and the French flag was formally hoisted on the Bourbon bastion (the one defending the sea-gate) on 25 August (II, 25–6). On the other hand that flag, being a white one with powdered fleurs-de-lys, may have been put up after the capture to show the place had been taken and serve as a signal to cease fire.

tion.[1] It is amazing and almost miraculous that the Moors, who are Muhammadans, and therefore the greatest enemies of our Catholic religion, should never have pillaged the cathedral, nor even opened its doors, though they had been here eleven years; but these infidels so venerated and respected the memory of this great apostle for his virtues and his miracles that we found the cathedral and all its ornaments, the libraries of splendid Latin and Portuguese books belonging to the various bishops, the sacred places full of beautiful and holy relics, and everything else, quite intact, just as they had been left by the Portuguese, when driven out by the Moors.[2] It was indeed miraculous to see such a thing among a barbarous and infidel nation in this distant country, so far from the true light, and to find that they did not fail in respect, veneration, and fear for sacred places, dedicated to God and to the memory of his Saints. This is not always the case in Europe: look at England and the state to which she has reduced our churches, since she shook off the yoke of our Holy Father.[3] See to what uses Holland has put our churches, since this rebellious people has refused to recognise religion or royalty.[4] Even all over France, many of our churches bear the sad marks of the fury and rage of false Christians, who still call themselves children of the Church: but alas! they have separated themselves from the true flock of Jesus Christ by their heresies and libertinage. Thus we find in this far Eastern land marvels that we do not find in Europe, which ought to be the centre of respect for, and devotion to, everything concerning our holy mysteries. All that I have written about what we saw of the state of things at St. Thomé only shows that it was the work of God, Who wished to be served and honoured in this church.

[1] The singing of the 'Te Deum' in the cathedral is confirmed by Martin (1, 385) and the *Journal* (1, 250). The cathedral was called after St. Thomas, and was built by the Portuguese, possibly as early as 1522 (Love, 1, 290). The church of the Paulist Fathers was one dedicated to St. Paul; it and the convent church of St. Dominic are mentioned by a Portuguese traveller, de Rezende, *c.* 1640 (Love, 1, 297–9).

[2] Martin (1, 385) and the *Journal* (1, 250) also speak of the respect paid by the Moslems to the cathedral, and their leaving its contents untouched.

[3] E.g. the confiscation of abbeys and monasteries by Henry VIII; the confiscation of chantries and iconoclasm under Edward VI; and the desecration of churches by Oliver Cromwell's troops in the Civil War.

[4] This refers to the spread of Calvinism in Holland, and the rise of the Dutch republic, which was finally recognised by Spain in 1648.

Our Viceroy installed M. Sertier[1] as priest: he was an almoner of the fleet, a learned young man of the Poitiers diocese, upright, virtuous, and possessing all the qualities necessary for a parish priest, who carried out his Vicarial duties to the edification, not only of the French, but also of the Portuguese and native Christians.

The next day, 26 July, we saw about 800 Moor horsemen, who came boldly up to the foot of the town walls. They learnt what had happened the day before, and that they had arrived too late for any useful help;[2] so, not being able to do anything, they threatened to return shortly with a sufficient force to make the French rue their reckless enterprise. They could not believe that this nation, as yet unknown to them, had enough courage, firmness, and industry, to resist all the forces and power that they were going to prepare and bring from the entire kingdom of Golconda.

The cavalry having retreated to their fortress of Poonamallee near the quarters of their general, Mandala Naik, our Viceroy worked hard to furnish the town with guns brought from the fleet, as also munitions, arms, food, and everything needful for this place, which was shortly to be besieged by more than 50,000 men, the bravest and most feared soldiers in the East. He landed the other companies of infantry which remained in the ships; they had had many losses, and were reinforced by Christian Portuguese topasses, who were very proud at being enrolled with French soldiers. A few Portuguese families, who had been driven out by the Moors, were also allowed to return to their houses in the town.[3]

The Viceroy, in spite of this, found himself short of soldiers and munitions, so took this opportunity of testing the worth of the offers he had received some days before from the Governor of Porto Novo and the Naik of Tanjou Jahour [Tanjore], who had given Trenquemennas to the King of France.[4] He sent ships with some officers to inform these princes of our need of assistance, and

[1] Martin (I, 403) calls him 'l'abbé Fertyer'.

[2] Carré was not at St. Thomé on 26 July, so speaks from hearsay. According to the *Journal* (I, 250), the Moor cavalry were seen approaching St. Thomé on 25 July after its capture by the French, and retreated on learning what had happened.

[3] Martin (I, 387) says that de la Haye made the Portuguese, who claimed houses, register their names and show their titles.

[4] Porṭo Novo was then under the governorship of Nasïr Muhammad Khan, who had his capital at the fort of Jinji (Sarkar, *Aurangzib*, 231; Martin, I, 573). The Naik of Tanjore, properly Tan-jūvār (*Hobson-Jobson*, 898), was the Hindu

they well showed the straightforward sincerity of their friendship and offers to our nation on the arrival of our squadron. The second of them sent more than 500 lascarins, who are Hindu soldiers, very clever in the use of arms and indefatigable in war. The Viceroy took them into his own pay, and trained them in such a splendid way that they were nearly equal to our own men, after being disciplined under such a general. The Governor of Porto Novo on his part furnished a great deal of provisions and munitions, cannon-balls, powder, match-locks, some lascarins, and generally all that was required from him. Without the assistance thus received from these two princes, our French would doubtless have had a bad time during the siege, and have suffered many hardships and much misery.[1]

The Viceroy, having spent a month without seeing his enemies, who dared not attack the place, employed the time in putting everything into such good order that he no longer feared the most powerful efforts to take the town.[2] Its capture made such a resounding sensation all over the East that the greatest kings and princes in India began to be on their guard, and to show a gratifying fear of the French nation. This mistrust had been largely aroused by the whispering and secret intrigues arising from the jealousy of both the Dutch and the English, who had no other aim but to destroy our business and trade in this country. They spread a rumour among these oriental nations that the French had come to India only as corsairs, as was proved by their seizure of St.

king, to whom St. Thomé had belonged before it was captured by Golconda forces in 1662 (Love, I, 44, 45, 304). He would, therefore, be disposed to assist the French. Carré's statement as to the Naik's cession of Tirumavasul (see *n.* 2 at p. 443 *ante*) receives confirmation from Governor Langhorn's letter of December 1672 (O.C. 3721, *f.* 2), in which, after mentioning that the French ships in October-November got provisions from Porto Novo, he says: 'neare whereunto they have bought a place called Treinalaware, upon a small river capable of shipps of 150 tonnes, for 20,000 pieces of eight, halfe downe, the rest in 3 yeares, of the Naique of Tangiour'.

[1] We have not found elsewhere any mention of this supply of lascarins, munitions, and provisions, before the siege of St. Thomé started; but Carré's statements carry weight, as he was in a position to get reliable information on a point of this kind. Martin (I, 394) and the *Journal* (II, 15) speak only of de la Haye's sending ships early in October to get provisions from Porto Novo and Tranquebar, as mentioned by Carré (p. 458 *post*).

[2] Martin (I, 386) and the *Journal* (II, 3–4, 9) mention these preparations for the defence of the town. The siege did not begin till the beginning of September.

Thomé.[1] But if the jealousy of these people was aroused in the interests of their own trade, the Portuguese blazed out in quite another way at the news of its capture, being stirred by the proud and glorious memory of their former sovereignty and power in India, to which they still clung in spite of the fact of their being now reduced to such a level that they were despised by all the East, on account of their losses and continual shameful acts. They could, however, not rid themselves of their absurd belief that they were still lords and kings on both sea and land in India. Hearing of the conquest of St. Thomé, they treated the French as traitors and heretics, and as their greatest enemies in India, saying that they had taken a town which belonged to the Portuguese. I happened, one day, to be at Goa with some high Portuguese officials on the council of their Viceroy. I could not stand the impertinence and stupidity with which I heard them hold forth on this subject. I asked them what great French injury had compelled them to leave a town, dedicated to St. Thomas, in the hands of Moors and infidels, who for eleven years had profaned it, not allowing any Christian to enter the place; and I said that, instead of having any right to abuse the French as they were doing, they ought to be grateful to them for having had the courage to eject the infidels from that lovely town. There they had re-established the religion and service of God in all the churches under French priests and monks—men who knew how to conduct the holy mysteries and to distinguish between heresies and the truths of our holy religion better than their own Portuguese priests, most of whom did not know a word of Latin, or the other essentials of their duties. These remarks so shocked them that I might easily have been handed over to the Inquisition. They actually had the effrontery to tell me that our Viceroy ought to have first asked the permission of their Viceroy at Goa to take the town. This their Viceroy might possibly have been polite enough to grant, but on condition that it should be returned to the Portuguese, after we had expelled the Moors from it. I was obliged to suffer all these and similar impertinent remarks, without daring to reply.[2]

These Portuguese, with all their pride and jealousy, did not, however, give us as much trouble as the King of Golconda, who, as soon as he heard of the loss of St. Thomé, collected soldiers from

[1] Cf. Carré's similar remarks at p. 389 *ante*.

[2] Cf. the like remarks in vol. I, pp. 212, 213–4, 219–20, and at pp. 390–1 *ante*.

all over his kingdom. He ordered his greatest generals, Mandala Naik, Baba Saeb [Sahib], and Bouzoura [Trimbak Bussora Raju], to make every preparation to besiege the town. Elephants were prepared with their war machines; every town rang with the blare of trumpets, the clatter of cavalry, and the din of arms—all for the war against the French. One piece of artillery, a 120-pounder, and six others, 18, 36, 48 and 60-pounders, were put on machines and hauled by elephants to make a battery to breach the walls for the entry of this powerful army they had gathered. These three generals had each his own camp, elephants, and bodies of cavalry and infantry, amounting [altogether] to more than 50,000 men.[1] This formidable force aroused terror and dismay among the country people wherever it passed; and ultimately it appeared in the district between St. Thomé and Madras. The French at St. Thomé, however, awaited its coming with pleasure and impatience, hoping to gain honour and merit, and to render a good account of themselves against it. On arrival the Moors camped along a pleasant river, which waters the walls of Madras,[2] and stayed there for some days, to take measures for their intended approach to St. Thomé.

The English at Madras were very annoyed to see the French so near their most valuable trade-settlement in the East. They, therefore, gave both advice and assistance to the Moor generals during their stay in the neighbourhood.[3] The English were still more

[1] See *n.* 1 at p. 399 *ante*. According to Martin (I, 393), the Moor army at this stage numbered 6,000 foot and 2,000 horse, which were divided among the three generals mentioned by Carré. Langhorn (O.C. 3720) puts the number of the Moors in September at about 11,000 horse and foot.

[2] The 'pleasant river which waters the walls of Madras' probably means the river which joins the R. Cooum near its mouth, after passing between Fort St. George and 'the Island'. It was formerly called the Elambore; and the part of it flowing parallel to, and about a mile from, the coast along the west side of the city—in 1672 and for many years later it was the western boundary—was about 1802 converted into Cochrane's Canal, now forming part of the Buckingham Canal (Love, I, 26, 82, and Pitt's map *c.* 1710; III, 462, 533, 563).

[3] This statement is not supported by the Madras records in the India Office. Trimbak Bussora (one of the Moor generals) in August and September asked Langhorn to send a member of his Council to discuss affairs, and to supply him with money, powder, and other ammunition; but these requests do not seem to have been complied with by Langhorn, who wrote he could do nothing that 'might cause an enmity with the French' (*E.F.*, II, Madras, 1672; 26 F.S.G., 40, 44, 57, 59).

irritated and cut to the quick, as fifteen days after the capture of St. Thomé, our Viceroy seized an English vessel belonging to a Mr. George, the richest English freeman at Madras.[1] This ship traded with the Moors, the enemy of the French; and this powerful Englishman did a great business in Madras, where he lived as a private gentleman with his family. He had also several country houses and farms in the environs of St. Thomé, which he lost during the siege. These losses, in which other Englishmen were interested, together with their jealousy, incited them to injure us as much as possible. They secretly combined with our enemies and in an underhand way furnished them with swords, cannon-balls, powder, and other munitions.[2] They also advised the Moors to close all the roads from Madras and the villages near St. Thomé, in order to prevent the supply of provisions and any help to the French from the land-side.[3] To avert any suspicions that they were working against the French, for whom the English outwardly pretended friendship as allies, they induced the Moors to oblige them, by feigned menaces and notices, to forbid the supply of anything from Madras to St. Thomé.[4] The Moors thought this an

[1] 'George' was (William) Jearsey, who had come to Madras in April 1671 after his dismissal from the chiefship of the Masulipatam factory. While in the Company's service, he had indulged in extensive private trade, and he continued this as a 'freeman' at Madras, having been allowed by the Company to remain in India (*E.F.*, II, Madras, 1670–2; Love, I, 270). The vessel seized was his ship *Ruby*. Martin (I, 389–90) says that de la Haye did this on Langhorn's suggestion, but this is opposed to both Langhorn's denial of the assertion and his strenuous, though unsuccessful, attempts to prevent the ship's seizure and afterwards to get her released (*E.F.*, II, Madras, 1673).

[2] As regards assistance by the Agent and Council at Madras, the only things shown by the records to have been supplied to the Moors were some powder and shot worth 516 pagodas, referred to in a letter of December 1672 (26 F.S.G., 74–5; *E.F.*, II, Madras, 1672).

[3] Martin (I, 393) makes no such charge, saying that the French were getting provisions from Madras, and the Moors 'wished to prevent this small succour' (for which they would scarcely require advice from the English). It was only after the first siege and before the second siege began that in June 1673 Langhorn urged Trimbak to have the roads properly guarded, as the French were threatening to force provisions from Madras (17 F.S.G., 25).

[4] Naturally there were complaints from Golconda and its local commanders about the supply of provisions to the French, but (according to the Madras records) it was not till March 1673 that the commanders began to use threats against Madras, and far from countenancing them Langhorn complained to the Nawab of Golconda that the threats were due to 'perfidious people in the camp' (17 F.S.G., 17; *E.F.*, II, Madras, 1673).

excellent idea and supported it by writing to the court of Golconda, telling it of the English goodwill for them and their attitude towards the French. The king thereupon sent civil letters, showing his gratitude, and requesting the English, as friends, to furnish nothing to St. Thomé, to allow no Frenchman to come to Madras, and to sell them nothing; otherwise they would bring on themselves the powerful army that was now sent against the French.[1] When these letters arrived at the Moors' camp, one of the generals went to Madras with a large following of his captains to visit the English Governor, who received him with every honour and signs of friendship. A salute was fired by all the guns in Fort St. George, and three salvoes by the musketeers of all the garrison, which was under arms, to receive the Moor general with more honour. He soon let the whole town know the object of his visit, as he publicly read the letters and commands of the King of Golconda. The very next day the English proclaimed, by beat of drums all over the town, an order forbidding all the inhabitants from selling anything to the French, or sending anything to St. Thomé.[2] Several Portuguese had already returned to the town and environs of St. Thomé. They offered their services to the French in the hopes of regaining their goods and possessions. They were, however, so terrified at the arrival of the Moor army that they did not wait for the siege to begin, but fled at once to Madras, whence they took the road to Goa, in order to enjoy the voluptuous pleasures to which they were more accustomed than to the alarms of war.

Finally the Moor army, which filled the district near Madras, began to move. A guard was kept on the seashore to prevent any communication between the two towns of Madras and St. Thomé, which are so close to one another that the two flags (English and

[1] Contrary to these statements, the Madras records show that up to the end of the first siege in March 1673, the Golconda commanders were making reports against the English of their assisting the French and that the King and the Nawab were angry about this (*E.F.*, II, Madras, 1672–3). In September 1672, because of their complaints, Langhorn allowed 100 Golconda peons to stay in the town to see that no assistance reached the French (26 F.S.G., 60; *E.F.*, II, Madras, 1672).

[2] This may have happened as part of Langhorn's attitude of neutrality, though it is not mentioned in extant Madras records. On the other hand, in a letter of 1 Jan. 1673 to the Company he stated his policy was to prevent assistance from those in the Company's pay, and to connive at the stealthy supply of provisions by others (O.C. 3729; Love, I, 340).

French) flown there are clearly visible from one place to the other.[1] Besides this guard, others were posted on the land-side, at the approaches to, and crossings of, the river [Adyar], with many squadrons of cavalry, which hovered about on every side to reconnoitre the ground and to observe the strength of the fortifications that the French had made outside St. Thomé. The results will show that the French are the best in the world at fortifying any place against the most powerful army. It was only a month before that about 300 Frenchmen[2] had taken this town by assault in less than six hours, and now they were against 60,000 men with a battery of artillery of several guns, of which one was a 120-pounder that had always been the terror of this part of the country, and had never been sent to join in the siege of any town without its subsequent capture. In addition the whole country was covered with elephants, camels, buffaloes, and other beasts, laden with warlike machines and tools, capable of inspiring terror in the bravest spirits in the world.

Nevertheless all that immense power, those great preparations, and those other things which might terrify any one else, only roused the hearts and courage of our French, who were fired with a zeal for glory by the example of our Viceroy, the greatest man that had ever appeared in the East, for his conduct, experience, and skill in war, as well as his prudence and courage. This great man resembled a second Alexander, who one morning, when entrenched with his triumphant army in some Persian mountain, was overjoyed at seeing below him his enemy, Darius, with all the forces of his kingdom spread over the whole plain. Alexander told his soldiers that they were to consider their numerous and advancing foes more as courtiers and effeminate men than warriors, as they were provided only with a display of gold, silver, jewels, and similar things, which shone with great brilliance on the plain, but would serve only as booty and be useless in a fight against real soldiers like themselves. They had long been accustomed to conquer and should keep their courage and fine spirit more steadfast

[1] Madras was three miles north of St. Thomé (Fryer, I, 103; Love, I, 10), with flat and mostly open ground between them.

[2] The *Journal* (II, 2) says the town was taken by 120 musketeers and 50 sailors. This probably means the force of M. de Rebrey, whereas Carré refers to the total number of French engaged in the attack. Langhorn (O.C. 3720) gives the same number, viz. 300.

than their protecting shields and cuirasses: those were the real ornaments which warriors ought to parade.[1] Thus, I say, our Viceroy, with hardly 800 French in the place,[2] led them all to the ramparts and bastions of St. Thomé and showed them the surrounding country, which was swarming with the powerful armies of Golconda. He represented the glory, honour, and rewards, that all this warlike booty would bring them, and that they must, therefore, do their utmost for the good name of France and show they were true subjects and soldiers of the greatest monarch who had ever been in the world; that the French, hitherto unknown in the East, must raise the honour and glory of their name above all other European nations who had first established themselves in these distant climes; that once these thousands of armed men that surrounded them felt the weight of their blows, their agility, skill, and method of fighting in the vigorous defence of this place, they would lose heart and never again wish to oppose our nation, or any of its enterprises; that these foreign countries must be shown that the French were capable of conquering and giving laws to the most redoubtable nations in the world; that this occasion was a field strewn with palms, glory, honour, and laurels, which they must gather by the sharpness of their swords and the strength of their courage; and that they would thus gain a renown never to be forgotten. In fine this great hero, la Haye, the living rampart and bulwark[3] of the defence of this town, so aroused the courage of these gallant Frenchmen that they begged him earnestly to lead them as soon as possible, in quest of means to prove their firmness, their fidelity, and the desire they all had to exalt the glory and honour of the name of France.

Our Viceroy, seeing their resolve, and being himself impatient to meet these dilatory enemies, determined to show them that he was not only ready to receive them, but even to attack them in their own camp. He had spies among their troops, who gave him faith-

[1] This refers to Alexander's speech before the battle of Issus (near Alexandretta) against the Persian army of Darius. Among his exhortations to his troops, he told them that their foes were 'similar to them neither in strength nor in courage', for (unlike the warlike Macedonians) the Persians and Medes were 'men who had become enervated by a long course of luxurious ease'. (Arrian, *Anabasis of Alexander*, bk. II, ch. VII, tr. E. J. Chinnock, 1893, p. 82.)

[2] Cf. notes at pp. 417, 426 *ante* as to the strength of the squadron in July 1672 being reduced to about 1,000 men, of whom over 300 were sick.

[3] This is a pun on the word 'haie', a hedge. Cf. p. 463 *post*.

ful reports of all that was going on there. Having learnt that the three Moor generals were to encamp separately with their own forces and to entrench themselves in three different places, he decided to visit the first general by way of civility, in order to give him a foretaste of what he might expect from his enterprise. This general, Mandala Naik, as the one most formidable and skilled in war, had been the first to advance for the purpose of entrenching his forces in an advantageous position. He could not imagine that the French would have the hardihood to show themselves outside the town, so had already begun to work on the plan of lines and retrenchments of his camp, when the Viceroy decided to attack him.

A Portuguese, who had stayed in the town and appeared very zealous in the service of our Viceroy, persuaded him that he knew the roads and turnings better than anyone else, and that it was difficult country, cut in several places by two rivers. He was, therefore, chosen as guide for the expedition. The Viceroy took with him 600 resolute men, and left the town about midnight, hoping to surprise the enemy before dawn. The Portuguese, however, mistook the way several times, and made such long and difficult détours, that they reached the enemy camp only at daybreak.[1] They charged headlong so vigorously and fiercely that the Moors could not withstand the furious attack. They were put into such disorder, that they did not know till later the small number of our forces.[2] These were so carried away by the advantage thus gained

[1] This was the attack made on 10 August against the Moor force at Kodumbaukum, a village about four miles from St. Thomé (O.C. 3720; Martin, I, 387–9; *Journal,* II, 4–8). According to Martin, intelligence that the enemy force of 1,500 men at that place were preventing the supply of provisions to the town and were to be shortly reinforced, as well as the importance 'de faire d'abord quelque chose d'éclat', led de la Haye to make the attack, which he accompanied; the detachment he took was one of only 300 men, in addition to his guards, and some cadets and volunteers; they left at 2 a.m., but because the guides (who had been instructed to make a détour so that they might take the enemy in the flank or rear) either did not know the way, or (as de la Haye suspected) were treacherous, after an arduous march they did not reach the Moor camp till broad daylight, when the Moors, who had been warned of the sortie, were prepared to receive them. The *Journal* (II, 5) on the other hand supports Carré's statement that the French reached the enemy camp at daybreak, saying they were discovered then only because a sentinel heard the noise of their passing through a muddy ploughed field.

[2] According to Martin (I, 388), the Moors gave way at the first fire and abandoned the camp, which the French entered; they then pressed the Moors

on the enemy that they let themselves be gradually surrounded by several squadrons of cavalry, who had rallied and were doing their utmost to restore order in the camp, galloping from side to side and urging their soldiers to attack us. Though our men were pressed on all sides by this cavalry, they were no more upset by it than if they had been exercising on the parade ground at St. Thomé. They closed their ranks so effectively, and were so well commanded that, by keeping up a continual fire, they not only prevented the cavalry from charging, but cut their way through it. These enemy squadrons, who had never seen such a manœuvre in a fight, so much presence of mind, nor so terrible a nation, remained as if petrified by the great carnage and this amazing feat by a handful of men against more than 3,000 horsemen and 5,000 foot. Finally our Viceroy retired with his victorious troops in such good order that his enemies dared not follow them, nor even charge, in spite of their great advantage in numbers over us.[1] It is certain that, if this attack had been opened, as was first arranged, by surprising the enemy at night, we should have gained a signal victory and been able also to pillage the camp,[2] which they did not leave without winning much glory.

This splendid action of our Frenchmen made the Moors keep better watch than they had done hitherto; and they were so startled by our hardihood that for some time afterwards they had also false alarms on the least unusual occurrence at night. At last the three generals approached nearer the town, and each camped in the place which seemed most advantageous to him. We, under the leadership of our incomparable Viceroy, made many sorties

in the plain outside it, but the latter rallied. The *Journal* (II, 5), however, corroborates Carré's statement that there was a charge, saying it was made by some forward patrols; the French advance-guard followed and passed through the Moor camp, which was practically abandoned.

[1] Both Martin (I, 388) and the *Journal* (II, 7–8) corroborate this, saying the French troops retired in good order, with musketeers detached to skirmish and guard the flanks and rear; this kept off the Moor cavalry, which followed them in hopes of cutting them up, for a long distance (according to Martin), and to within half a league of the town (according to the *Journal*). Carré differs from them in not mentioning other fighting described by them, in the course of which the Viceroy had a narrow escape of his life—an incident that Carré transfers to another occasion (p. 464 *post*).

[2] The *Journal* (II, 7) says that de la Haye begged the troops not to 'amuse' themselves by pillaging the camp, as this might result in their defeat, and would in any case embarrass them in their retreat.

so well ordered that we had almost daily hand to hand encounters with the enemy, who was entrenching himself in the streets and houses of the suburbs. Under this protection, they at first advanced their battery within cannon-shot, and bombarded the Porte Royale, which faces the country on the west side,[1] for some days, but with little or no effect, as it was too far off. The English in Madras, whom they always consulted in their most important affairs, advised them to raise an entrenchment to the height of the walls within a musket-shot of the Porte Royale, when the battery would have the desired effect. The Viceroy heard of this plan and made many sorties to prevent the work and the enemy's approach.[2] Noticing that the houses and the great number of trees favoured the enemy, he also kept up a continual fire from the guns of the bastions commanding the suburbs, while he worked day and night to destroy all the streets in them and large trees covering more than 2,000 feet, which interfered with our gun-fire.[3] Thus there were daily skirmishes and encounters, and the French did such superhuman deeds that the enemy hardly knew how to defend or protect himself from the audacious incursions and ruses of the besieged. These gave them no time to carry out any of their designs: they had them always on their hands, for no sooner were any works started than they had to be abandoned with great losses.[4]

The three Moor generals had meanwhile entrenched their re-

[1] The Porte Royale was in the middle of the west face of the fort (Love, I, 314*n*.).

[2] Martin (I, 397) mentions a Moor entrenchment so well constructed that it looked as if Europeans were directing the work: it enclosed a house, which the Moors protected with earthworks and on the top of which they planned to put a battery. The allegation that the English at Madras had advised the Moors to place it close to the Porte Royale is, however, opposed to the later statement at pp. 528–9 that the English had cleared themselves of this accusation. In corroboration of Carré's other statements, Martin (I, 391–7) and the *Journal* (II, 10–18) show that the siege began early in September; that the Moors brought their entrenchments close to the town, attacked French outposts, and burnt houses in the suburbs; and that the French made frequent sorties to drive them back and prevent their approach.

[3] The work of cutting down trees and pulling down houses proceeded during September and October (Martin, I, 391–2, 394–5; *Journal*, II, 14–7).

[4] This statement may include the French attack on 5 November (pp. 461–5 *post*). As to the Moor projects being checked, the *Journal*, II, 18, mentions that they had to abandon work on a mine, because of de la Haye's 'half-moon, which ruined their design'.

spective camps with walls and ditches out of the range of our guns. They frequently consulted and resolved to perish rather than abandon their enterprise. Though they had with them the bravest and most experienced captains and the principal forces of the kingdom, yet they concluded that, judging by the first advantages gained over them by the French, the retaking of this place would not be as easy as they had imagined. They had seen such amazing vigour and reckless enterprise by the besieged that they believed there was something superhuman about the French. They had seen a mere party of thirty soldiers charging thousands of men, breaking up their strongest squadrons to impede their works, and retiring covered with blood, after cutting their way back.[1] They had also seen our Viceroy in the thick of the fight, with only a few guards, doing such splendid deeds as to surpass imagination. The invincible French general seemed to be in a hundred places at once, giving orders everywhere, supporting his men, and interfering with the enemy's works.[2] They had seen a single sergeant, with his halberd and two pistols, drive more than 600 of their soldiers back to their camp. They had seen some of them besieged and massacred, in the houses where they were entrenched, by about ten young cadets. These lads, not finding any passage or doors by which to enter the place, made a way for themselves over the houses; then with grenades, fire-pots, and such-like things, they attacked the enemy, who all perished miserably in their shelters.[3] Finally they saw themselves reduced to such an extremity, after the loss of over 4,000 of their bravest soldiers, that they were obliged to fortify themselves in their camps far from the town, and to consider what should be done afterwards.

The Viceroy, on his side, learnt from his spies that new troops were arriving daily at the Moors' camp, and that they had resolved to take the town at any cost. He, therefore, set himself to foresee all that was necessary to sustain a siege, which was likely to be a long one. It really looked as if God was helping the French

[1] Thus Martin (I, 395) and the *Journal* (II, 17) say that on 10 October de Rebrey and 30 men forced the Moors from entrenchments, killing some 30 of them.

[2] Martin (I, 392) gives a similar eulogy, mentioning especially de la Haye's activity in being everywhere and his courage in exposing himself as much as any of his soldiers and officers.

[3] The *Journal* (II, 17, 18) says that the Moors were much frightened by the grenades thrown into their trenches.

on this occasion, for all the country people, having seen how a handful of Frenchmen had taken the town in so short a time, and how the powerful Moor army had come to the gates and tried to take it by assault, only to be driven back with much loss, conceived a great admiration and friendship for the French, and tried to help them in every way. The result was that many Hindu [and] Christian families rushed into the place with companies of lascarins, who are Hindu soldiers. They go about almost naked and are a terrifying sight, being armed with sabres, lances, and muskets, with other sharp weapons, which they wear in a belt round the body. These lascarins, charmed with the kindness and benevolence they received from the Viceroy, who was pleased to train them personally, attracted many others; and companies of them were formed, which became some of the best and bravest soldiers in the country.[1]

Our Viceroy and M. Caron, who had risked the glory of our nation and their own honour in this undertaking, now began to reflect seriously, seeing that they were surrounded by powerful enemies on every side. The sea route was the only one open to them for obtaining help, and there was no time to be lost, as they had few soldiers, while munitions, food, and money were almost exhausted. They could not expect any assistance from the English at Madras, though they were our allies: they had too much reason to refuse everything, as they had done in the case of the slightest proposal made to them. As to help from Surat, the directors there were upset, and had resolved not to furnish the squadron with anything more, because of the removal of the ships, goods, and money, that M. Caron had taken away with him [p. 394]. He had resolved never to return to Surat, and to abandon entirely the service and interests of our Company.[2] So, realising that there was no help to be had in India, he managed to persuade the Viceroy to give him a ship, to take him to France, on the plea that it was necessary he should go there, in order to inform His Majesty of the state

[1] The *Journal* and Martin frequently refer to the presence of these lascarins in de la Haye's force, but make no specific mention of their local recruitment and training, except that Martin (I, 422) implies this in speaking of 'a disorder which arose among the new lascarins, who were not yet trained to fire'. Delort, *Revue Maritime, &c.*, XLVII, 455, says that de la Haye formed a corps of lascarins, most of whom had served under the Portuguese or Dutch.

[2] Cf. vol. I, p. 143, and p. 395 *ante*.

of affairs and the need of prompt and effective help.[1] He also wanted to let the Company's General Chamber know of the insults, the injuries, and the affronts, which he maintained he had received from those sent out to govern with him, and which had obliged him to resign their service.

His departure was, therefore, decided on, but it was a long voyage to France, and the hoped for help would be very late in coming; so the Viceroy resolved to reproach the Company's directors at Surat and to spur them to action for the glory and interests of His Majesty, which they ought to cherish. For this purpose he decided to dispatch a small ship to Surat; the hooker *St. Louis,* commanded by M. Chanlatte, was reconditioned for this voyage; and M. Herpin, formerly captain of the *St. Jean Baptiste*, also sailed in her for Surat, whence he was going to France by land with important packets for the court. M. Caron, for a reason unknown to me, would not take his silver and other valuable belongings with him. He dispatched them all in this small ship to his eldest son Baltazard [Balthasar], whom he had left at Surat; but he did not know that, as soon as he had left Surat with the royal squadron, Balthasar, who had never been friendly with his father, had left in an English ship for Persia, whence he went to France by land. Thus the two ships, the *Jules* and the *St. Louis*, were made ready to start, the first for France and the other for Surat; but the help expected from them was very uncertain and in any case would entail a long wait, so the Viceroy equipped the rest of the ships in the squadron and sent them to Tranquebar, Porto Novo, and other towns on the coast, for as much of provisions and munitions, and as many lascarins as they could get, these being the only places from which prompt help could be obtained. This was a bold stroke, and by the grace of God, we received the support, friendship, and good services of the princes and governors of these places, so that they supplied everything in abundance; otherwise the affairs of the French would have been in a very bad way.

[1] Martin (I, 392) gives exactly the same reasons for Caron's return to France. Kaeppelin (97) suggests that it was mainly due to Caron's desire not to be mixed up with the final disaster, which he foresaw, while de la Haye on his side wanted to get rid of a counsellor, whose advice had been so disastrous to him, and who now seemed to him so suspect. Delort, *loc. cit.*, 457, cites remarks against Caron made in an official report by de la Haye, which show he suspected the former of receiving bribes from the Dutch; but Delort (458) and Kaeppelin (97) put his supposed treachery on other grounds.

Sunday, 2 October 1672. All the French ships in the roadstead of St. Thomé set sail and remained together as far as Porto Novo,[1] where the *Jules* with M. Caron left for France, and the *St. Louis* for Surat. They both had ill luck, and an unfortunate end to their voyages that was very prejudicial to our affairs. The *Jules,* which had a rich cargo of the choicest merchandise from the East, after sailing through many seas without misfortune, perished miserably on the islands and rocks of the Brelingues [Berlengas] near the port of Lisbon in Portugal.[2] The little ship, *St. Louis,* bound for Surat, went ashore at Colombo, a Dutch fort in Ceylon, where she was seized and all our French in her made prisoners by the Dutch. Sr. Rijkloff, their general, took all M. Caron's gold and silver plate and other rich belongings found in this prize, saying that he was sure it was a present sent to him by M. Caron, who was an upright man, always well disposed towards his own country, and that he had no doubt found it more reasonable to commit all these precious articles to the care of his own nation than to take them back to France, where he had gone in quest of other more valuable things.[3] Sr. Rijkloff added that he would not consider it a dishonour, nor beneath him, to use all these household

[1] Five ships were sent for provisions, etc., viz. *Navarre, Breton, Flamand, Diligente,* and Jearsey's seized ship, the *Ruby*. The *Flamand* left on 21 October, and the *Sultane* stayed at St. Thomé (Martin, I, 394, 396; *Journal,* II, 15).

[2] M. du Clos, captain of the *Breton,* who was adjudged incapable of continuing in command of her, was another passenger to France in the *Jules* (*Journal,* II, 10–1; Martin, I, 392). Her wreck occurred in May 1673 (Kaeppelin, 40, 97). It would take at least six months for news of this to reach Carré; and Martin at Pondicherry (I, 617–8) learnt of it only in May 1674. This shows that entries were made much later in Carré's *Journal* than April 1673, to which month (as indicated by its headings covering chapters II to IV of this volume) they purport to belong.

[3] The capture of the small flute, *St. Louis,* is mentioned in Batavia letter of 11 Dec. 1672 (Dutch transcripts in the India Office, XXX, No. 785, p. 13; cf. Khan's *Sources, &c.,* 305): this says that she was met by a Dutch man-of-war near Galle to the south of Ceylon, and was interned there. Martin (I, 413) alleges that her commander and Captain du Clos took the vessel to Point de Galle quite unnecessarily, and suggests there was collusion with the Dutch. He also says he had heard that Caron's plate and other effects in the ship were divided between those two officers and the Dutch commandant at Galle. The accusation that Carré makes against Rijkloff van Goens is weakened further by the Batavia letter mentioned above, which says that the latter, wishing to avoid hostilities against France in Indian waters, did not even open the letters to Surat that were on board.

utensils, as they belonged to a person of his own nation, who once had pretensions to the post of Director-general of their own East India Company [cf. p. 395]. This disaster to the two ships was an inexpressible catastrophe on account not only of the loss of the vessels and their crews and cargoes, but also of the great prejudice it entailed to the affairs of our King and Company, who could not, therefore, know of the state of affairs in this country and send the necessary help.

The Viceroy, then, could build his hopes only on the rest of the ships, which had gone to Tranquebar and Porto Novo for provisions and munitions. The Frenchmen in them, being mostly turbulent and lacking in respect and obedience, could not refrain from quarrelling among themselves, and were so insolent that the governors of the places to which they went were disgusted, and the Danish governor of Tranquebar was obliged to imprison some of our people as punishment for their misbehaviour. These disorders, so usual in our nation, also aroused discontent among several of our men. They deserted the service and escaped to the surrounding country, where most of them were made prisoners by the Moors, a well-merited punishment for their conduct; others went to the Portuguese, while some voluntarily entered the Moors' service and embraced the infamous religion of Muhammad.[1] Among the latter, was a captain of a ship in the squadron, M. de l'Estrille, called La clide, formerly commander of the *Indienne*. He was base enough to leave our service, in spite of having had the honour of commanding one of His Majesty's ships. He stayed at Tranquebar and embarked afterwards in a Danish ship for Bantam. Later on [vol. III, chap. IV] I shall show what memorable things he did there.

His Majesty's ships were now reduced to five in number, viz. the *Navarre*, the *Breton*, the *Flamand*, the *Triomphe*,[2] and the *Sultane*. They returned to St. Thomé without mishap, and with a quantity of provisions and munitions, and some lascarins.[3] This

[1] Martin (I, 395, 396, 401) mentions nine desertions from the garrison in October and November 1672; and the *Journal* (II, 18) gives intelligence received on 3 November that several French deserters had been sent to Golconda (cf. p. 337 *ante*).

[2] The *Triomphe* had been beached in September (p. 467 *post*). The *Diligente*, being leaky, stayed at Porto Novo and never returned (Martin, I, 396, 567, 651).

[3] The *Navarre* and the *Ruby* returned on 24 October, and the *Flamand* on 7 November, bringing provisions from Tranquebar (Martin, I, 396, 398). The

succour arrived very opportunely, as the Moors had already made a big advance. They had had over 40,000 men at work day and night on making entrenchments, and had concealed their battery, so that it could keep a continual fire by day and night on the Porte Royale. It was very fortunate for us that our enemy stuck entirely to this side, which was the strongest part of the town. The wall was twenty feet thick, built of lime and cement, with enormous cut stones,[1] and in addition a double gate, to force which was almost impossible, however feebly it might be defended. Moreover, on the bastions that protected this gate we had cast-iron guns, viz. 18- and 36-pounders, which returned the enemy's continual fire, so that on this side they had nothing to fear but the mine, at which the Moors were toiling with such diligence and care that our men were surprised to see their works daily coming nearer to the walls.[2] This decided our Viceroy to make a sortie in an effort to destroy the enemy's works, and if possible, to drive them far away from the walls, before they could fortify themselves in these entrenchments.

Saturday, 5 November 1672. An hour before dawn the Viceroy gave orders to the bastions on the land-side to keep up a continual fire, with a view to prevent the cavalry from approaching the town. He then left with his guards, about one hundred French musketeers, three companies of lascarins, and some 150 French sailors from the ships, equipped with iron spades, picks, and other tools, to destroy and break up the Moors' earthworks.[3] They proceeded in such good order that they reached the enemy trenches unperceived. The grenadiers were the first to attack, throwing their petards, grenades, and fire-pots into the midst of the enemy, who were all asleep on the other side of the trenches; many were

Flamand did another voyage to Pondicherry and Porto Novo, and on 5 Feb. 1673 brought back more provisions, as well as munitions and some 200 lascarins (Martin, I, 416; *Journal*, II, 40, 48).

[1] Fryer calls the walls 'marble' (I, 397); and Love (I, 317*n*.) says the fort sea-face, reconstructed by the Moslems, was built of stone taken from neighbouring temples, probably the granite gneiss of the locality; cf. Martin, I, 337, reproduced by Love, I, 305.

[2] Martin (I, 396–7) and the *Journal* (II, 16–7) corroborate Carré regarding the advanced state of the Moor entrenchments near the town. The *Journal* (II, 18) also mentions their mining.

[3] Martin (I, 397) says that de la Haye took his best troops, including two companies of (? Hindu) soldiers, and 200 sailors.

killed and wounded by these terrible missiles, which they feared more than any others used by our French. The remainder took flight, and abandoned most of their arms and baggage; this spread dismay in all the camp, which was thrown into great confusion.[1] Some fled into the countryside, others left their posts and fell over one another in terror, without heeding the shouts and efforts of their leaders, who did everything possible to rally their men, running to and fro in this tumult and disorder, to try to calm their fears.

However, our people were led by a general who well knew how to use every advantage in war. The trenches having been taken without resistance, a furious charge, now made on the main body of the enemy, which did not allow him even breathing time, was pushed with such force and vigour that nothing was left of the foe but piles of corpses in the abandoned trenches. The Viceroy, the greatest general ever seen in the East, whose principal object was merely the destruction of the trenches and earthworks, saw that his troops had advanced too far in pursuit of the enemy, so sounded the retreat. He had, however, great difficulty in rallying them, and had himself to run on every side to stop their impetuosity. The most surprising thing on this occasion was the conduct of our French sailors. They had received strict orders to destroy the Moor works and trenches, but instead of obeying they joined with our musketeers and lascarins and with spades, picks, and other iron tools, killed many more of the enemy than did our soldiers with their arms.[2]

The Viceroy, after a great deal of trouble and this immense carnage, at last brought back his troops in good order up to the trenches which they had taken. He posted musketeers and guards to protect the workmen, and put all the sailors, lascarins, and some of the townspeople, on the work of destroying the trenches.

[1] Martin (I, 397–8) and the *Journal* (II, 19) give much the same account of the action and the resultant flight of the Moors from their forward entrenchments: according to Martin, however, there was some resistance in the trenches, which was overcome with grenades, etc.

[2] Martin (I, 398) says that de la Haye rallied his troops on seeing 500 Moor cavalry, which advanced to the support of the fleeing infantry; a fight ensued, in which the sailors joined with picks and spades, and the Moors were beaten off. The *Journal* (II, 19–20) also mentions the fight with the cavalry, which apparently took place before de la Haye began the destruction of the captured trenches.

Armed with spades and picks, they worked day and night with incredible zeal, and not without some danger, on account of the Moors. These had rallied and seemed ashamed at our having in two hours, with a handful of men, taken their trenches—the fruit of over three months' hard work by thousands of their men. They came to their senses, and their commanders inspired their troops with the determination to regain what had been lost through the dismay and disorder in their camp. Our Viceroy, this hedge [MS. *haye*] and firm rampart against the most furious attacks, saw the Moors advancing with shouts and howls, capable of frightening anybody but our brave Frenchmen. Far from being alarmed, he walked round the trenches to encourage the workmen, by his presence and voice, to go on working. He then returned to his victorious troops, which had been reinforced by several companies sent from the town, and drew them up so skilfully in battle-order that the enemy, after getting at last within pistol-shot, and though he fought for three long hours, was unable to break through the battalion. Firm, unshakeable, and vigilant, it kept up a continual fire on its foes, who, seeing such a number of their dead heaped round the French soldiers, lost courage and began to give way. On perceiving this, our troops charged with such fury that the like execution by so few in so short a time has never been heard of. The workmen who were destroying the enemy trenches, in spite of orders not to leave their task, abandoned it, as on the previous occasion, and pursued the enemy with such courage that they seemed invulnerable. They threw themselves into the mêlée like lions, and seizing any arms they could find, made daylight [MS. *jour*] in the strongest battalions.[1] It certainly seemed as if Heaven was fighting for us and not mere human strength, for our people in the heat of the battle became separated from one another in the midst of their numerous foes; and if the Moors had been able to seize this opportunity, not one of them would have returned. The amazing feats of our brave sons of

[1] This story seems to be either apocryphal or an exaggeration of the fight alluded to in the previous note. Martin (I, 398) and the *Journal* (II, 20) make no mention of any such attack by the Moors after the destruction of the forward trenches had been begun; nor do they speak of any encounter even on the subsequent days, when they say this work continued, except on 16 November. Martin (I, 399) and the *Journal* (II, 21–2) describe an attack that day on a French outpost, which resulted in some loss, though the Moors were ultimately driven off.

Mars, however, threw the infidels into such disorder that, instead of realising the great advantage they had over our small numbers, they spread out to make way for our men wherever they saw them. They imagined that the French were made of pistols, grenades, fire-pots, petards, and the like, as they saw these arms leaving the hands, pockets, and shirts, of our men, with such terrible effects that nothing more dreadful could be imagined. In the meantime our brave Viceroy, who had not been able to restrain the fire and dash of our troops, became hard pressed in the middle of the mêlée, and ran great risk of his life, being attacked with sabres by four Moor horsemen, who recognised him.[1] He had already accounted for two with his pistols, and after warding off a blow from a third, ran him through the body with his sword, which broke as he tried to withdraw it. Meanwhile the fourth Moor had raised his sabre for a cut at our brave Viceroy's head, which would have killed him, had it not been for the help of a French soldier, who was fortunately near at hand. He shot the Moor with three balls he had in his musket, thus breaking his head just as his sabre stroke was about to fall. The Viceroy turned round to see who had saved him by this feat, and recognised a soldier whom he had lately condemned to be shot. He was much surprised and told the man he would reward him for this deed, as he afterwards did by giving him honourable employment.[2] The Viceroy, after escaping this danger, had many others to encounter, while extricating himself from the midst of his enemies. Seeing all his men still engaged, he rallied them gradually, and most of them eventually rejoined him. These helped the rest to break loose, and he brought them all back to work on the destruction of the trenches without taking any rest. The enemy then attacked for the third time, and

[1] As mentioned on p. 454 *ante*, this escape of the Viceroy seems to have occurred in the fight of 10 August. Martin (I, 388) says he was attacked by five Rajputs; the *Journal* (II, 6) varies this with an attack by seven soldiers, of whom only four are later accounted for, as slain or wounded.

[2] The *Journal* account agrees that de la Haye's sword broke in the way described by Carré, but it varies other details. Martin gives no details, except as to the soldier who came to the Viceroy's rescue: he says that he was called 'La Jonquière', and that he shot one of the assailants, just as the point of his halberd was entering the Viceroy's belly. According to the *Journal*, this soldier was named 'la Roche' and shot a fourth assailant while the Viceroy was engaged in defending himself from the attack of a third, who slightly wounded him with his dagger. The *Journal* (II, 9) adds that on 17 November the Viceroy promoted M. de la Roche, who was now called 'de la Junquière'.

the battle raged again more fiercely than ever; but our forces kept the same advantage as in the other fights, till nightfall stopped everything.

The Viceroy, after such a great day, brought all his victorious troops back into the town, where they went to the cathedral to sing the 'Te Deum' in thanks to God for the visible help given to the glorious French troops.[1] They had this day sustained three attacks by thousands of the enemy, losing only four men and some wounded. On the enemy's side were counted 2,000 dead and 800 wounded, in addition to the loss of their trenches and works.[2] Our troops here found a quantity of ladders, ready for a general assault; but the enemy lost heart for it when they saw what the French were doing to them outside. Traces of two mines were also found in a very advanced state, so our Viceroy, on the following days, after completely destroying the trenches taken from the enemy, had a tunnel dug, about 15 feet deep, from the Porte Royale to the bastion of St. Louis[3] as a countermine. From this reverse the enemy took some time to recover, and their attacks were less fierce. They realized that they had to deal with an indefatigable people, a terrible nation, and soldiers who resembled lions and tigers, nourished on blood and carnage, and living only for warfare and the chance of acquiring glory.

The Moors, having made so many vain efforts on the side of the Porte Royale, which faces the west, now wished to see if they could not be more successful on the south; but there they achieved still less. The Viceroy had constructed a bastion on the seashore, which was called the Fearless Fort: it commanded the river and the passage from the seashore, and with six pieces of artillery defended the southern approaches to the town.[4] As for the north side, in addition to its four defence bastions,[5] it was surrounded by a river

[1] This is corroborated by Martin (I, 398) who says the troops returned at 7 p.m. and went straight to the cathedral to give thanks to God.

[2] Martin (I, 397–8) says that the enemy in the trenches numbered 2,000, and that, out of these and the 500 horse which came from the camp, it lost over 200 men. The *Journal* (II, 20) estimates the latter loss as over 100, and gives the number of Frenchmen wounded (which Martin says were four) as seven.

[3] The bastion St. Louis was at the north-west angle of the town (Love, I, 318*n*).

[4] The fort 'sans peur' was an outwork near the bank of the river, which was to the south of the town (Love, I, 299, 315*n*).

[5] These were the ones called St. Louis, de Rebré, Soleil, and Dauphin (Delestre, 176; Love, I, 313*n*).

within musket-shot, which served as a second rampart.[1] So the enemy, having [in vain] sounded all the spots where they hoped to force an entrance, were compelled to continue their first plan, and recommenced their earthworks.[2] Our men were daily engaged with them in trying to prevent this design; and such surprising things happened there that the Hindus and other natives publicly declared that they had seen the God of the French in the sky fighting for them, as well as the glorious apostle, St. Thomas, who was protecting them and wished them to keep possession of this holy town. Finally even the enemies of our Catholic religion noised abroad that Heaven was helping the French. Nevertheless, the enemy so guarded and blocked all the roads, that it was impossible for us to receive help or sustenance from any place whatever,[3] except by sea. The Viceroy, needing a small quantity of provisions, accordingly resolved to send a boat to Madras to buy these petty supplies, luxuries with which he intended to refresh his brave officers.

22 *November* 1672. The Viceroy armed a ship's boat, and sent with it the Chevalier de Maison Noeufve [Neuve], M. Del'hortie, treasurer, and two ship's officers. They kept a bit out to sea and landed at Madras, beaching their boat. They then went into the town to the English master-gunner, a well-to-do man, who received yearly from England hundreds of delicacies, Spanish and French wines, brandy, cheese, ham, olives, hats, silk stockings, ribbons, cloth materials, and similar things, a business on which he thrived.[4] While our gentlemen were with him to refresh themselves and to buy their provisions, the Moors then in the town, in which they buy all their best munitions, were no sooner advised that the French were there than they sprang to arms and assembled as many as they could in full view of the English. Most of the latter would have been delighted to see them massacre our Frenchmen who, on being told of the affront prepared for them, went straight to the English governor, expecting to find protection. He was a man who for political reasons dared not openly declare him-

[1] This was really a lagoon, formed by the river Adyar (Love, I, 299).

[2] The *Journal* (20–1) speaks of the discovery on 9 November of new works towards the bastion Colbert on the south-west of the town.

[3] Martin (I, 399) corroborates this, saying the Moors kept all the roads closed.

[4] He was probably William Dixon, who was chief gunner at the Fort in 1672 (1 F.S.G., 17 July 1672; Love, I, 363–4).

self against them, but he received them in such a manner that they soon saw he was more inclined to the Moors than to our nation. At first he pleaded the threats and orders of the King of Golconda, who had forbidden him to supply anything to the French, and that, as Madras had few defences, he was afraid to irritate the Moors, who had the whole forces of their kingdom with them; so that all the help he would give to our gentlemen was to keep them in the Fort until evening, when he would conduct them himself to the seashore and see them embark in their boat. But he would not allow them to take away any of the provisions they had come for, and he recommended them strongly not to risk a second visit, for fear of worse treatment.[1]

During the alarms and fights of this severe siege our poor ships in the roadstead were in great need of caulking and re-equipping, which could not be done at St. Thomé, nor be arranged for elsewhere. Also the continual occupation from the siege gave enough work and fatigue to everyone. The loss of these ships was, therefore, inevitable. It commenced with the *Triomphe*, which they ran ashore; this was after all her gear had been taken off and distributed among the other ships, to maintain them for a little longer, while her guns were used for the defence of the town.[2]

The roads were still shut on every side, and it was impossible to obtain anything by land; but many of our officers and soldiers managed to get some little refreshments in an admirable way, thereby providing the truth of what the poets say of love: that it is a little god, who can pass in the midst of arms as well as in peace, and that no power, nor peril, can prevent his plans or enterprises.

[1] The Fort St. George records show that Himam Khan Beg, a local commander, came with an armed force to the Fort and demanded the surrender of the Frenchmen who had gone to Madras by boat; but Langhorn put the garrison in arms to prevent his entry, and told Himam that they had left the town (26 F.S.G., 63, 68; cf. Love, I, 391–2). The *Journal* (II, 22) corroborates this, saying that on 23 November MM. 'Maison Neufve and Lorye [? de l'Ortie, mentioned as treasurer, ibid. I, 127]' returned from Madras, where the Moors demanded them from the Governor, but the latter kept them in the Fort and facilitated their re-embarkation. In view of the subsequent trouble from Golconda, Langhorn seems to have acted wisely in not allowing the French officers to take away provisions.

[2] The *Triomphe* was run ashore and partly dismantled on 21 September (*Journal*, II, 13). Martin (I, 350) says she had been condemned as unfit, even when at Trincomalee, and (I, 386) that her guns were removed to the bastions of St. Thomé in July 1672.

Our French, after the capture of St. Thomé, being free from enemies' attacks for about two months, took their pastime and ordinary walks in the neighbourhood of St. Thomé and Madras, where the Portuguese and Christian ladies were eager to see white Christians, and devoted themselves to seeking occasions to satisfy their amorous inclinations. Finding in our Frenchmen a courteous and charming nation, which did not despise their colour, not one of them failed to deem it an honour to have two or three French lovers, of whom she was so proud that she no longer had any consideration for her relations or their affectation and ridiculous way of living. These women found the life with their French gallants was much nobler and more pleasant than the misery and slavery they endured with the Portuguese; so that most of our Frenchmen, though new to the country, were soon provided with servants, cooks, housekeepers, and sweet mistresses, who kept their rooms in great comfort, and for salary were content with the goodwill and affection of their master. But, alas! what tears, what lamentations, what regrets, what sorrows and despair amid all, were seen when, on the arrival of the Moors' army, the Viceroy, as a prudent and most cautious soldier, ordered all these women and children out of the town. He himself went round the whole place, and sent them and other useless mouths back to Madras,[1] where no doubt they rendered as much service and proof of their affection as if they had stayed with our French.

The orders proclaimed by the English in Madras not to furnish or sell anything to the French only increased the flames of passion and tenderness in these women. They tried every means to help their lovers. Neither the threats of the English, nor the fear of danger, nor the strict vigilance of the guards posted on every side, could prevent the consequence of the love and affection of these poor desolate sweethearts. They felt torments and afflictions much more than their lovers, who had nothing to worry them except their confinement in the town, with no lack of anything owing to the care and foresight of their illustrious general. Every cannon-shot was like a mortal wound in the hearts of these afflicted ladies; and as one could see quite plainly from Madras all that passed at the siege of St. Thomé, they lived in continual fear and alarm at

[1] This is partly corroborated by the *Journal*, which says (II, 36) that in January 1673 the Moors demanded from the Governor of Madras the women and children of the Portuguese at St. Thomé.

the sight of the sorties and fights that occurred daily. They did not conceal their joy and satisfaction when they saw the dead, wounded, and fugitives, brought in from the enemy's camp; and they so extolled the valour of the French that they struck terror into the bravest hearts by its mere recital. But this love and tenderness did not cease merely in the grief and sorrow of separation: there was nothing possible that they did not try, in order to get near enough to witness the splendid actions of their lovers, or to bring them delicacies and refreshments. Some disguised themselves as soldiers and won over the guards to let them in at night; some, dressed as Amazons, sabre in hand, mingled with the enemy; others, to conceal their designs, sent food from the town towards the enemy camp, and had men posted at river crossings who adroitly misdirected the convoys, so as to deliver them into the hands of the French outposts; while others, even more courageous than the above, used catamarans, which are two or three pieces of wood tied together.[1] They actually put out to sea in these frail and dangerous boats and came to the foot of the walls of St. Thomé, with only the force and fire of their love to serve them for sails and rudder. Those of the women who had neither the strength, nor the disposition, to risk such perils, in order to relieve their affliction, sent food to their lovers by trustworthy people, whom they paid highly for this and for bringing back letters of thanks and consolation. So that love, laughing at the stratagems of war, rendered good service to the besieged Frenchmen, in procuring them, through many cunning ruses, refreshments, bread, rice, fowls, pigs, wine, clothes, and munitions. All these things daily arrived for them by means of the women of Madras, who were also often useful in giving important news of the enemy's plans.

The Moors on their side received help and orders daily from the court of Golconda, which urged them to press on the siege, and not to relinquish their efforts until they had taken it by assault or by a capitulation. They worked harder than ever to bring their trenches nearer, and employed thousands of men, and clever engineers, so that at last they raised their parapets to the height of the

[1] Catamaran (Tamil *kattu*, binding, *maram*, wood) is a raft formed of three or four logs of wood lashed together (*Hobson-Jobson*, 173). Martin (1, 402) also speaks of pigs, fowls, and other refreshments, coming by them from Madras at night.

walls. They were so strong and thick that our artillery could do nothing against them. They were made of strong stakes and tree-branches interlaced with a plaster of straw and mud which formed a wall about twelve feet thick and harder than stone after it had been dried in the sun.[1] The efforts made by the besieged to destroy these works were almost incredible and superhuman. There were daily sorties with skirmishes and encounters so fiery that the enemy, in spite of their superior numbers, hardly knew what to do. They were several times on the point of abandoning the siege on account of their terrible losses after each encounter. They were always beaten and driven back by the French, who never retreated in the evening without leaving streams of their enemies' blood flowing over all their works. It was splendid to see the Viceroy, indefatigable inside and outside the town, ever at the head of his men, who fired by his example, easily achieved the most perilous tasks.[2] They were overjoyed to be able to show the contempt they had for their foes, and seemed to consider all the fights and perils, in which they engaged day and night, as mere recreations and amusements.

However, the whole affair was dragging too slowly. We lost many of our best soldiers in our fights, sorties, and frequent attacks, which diminished our strength. Our Chiefs were also in continual danger, gathering thorns as well as laurels in this field of glory, and generally escaping by the special protection and assistance of Heaven in our retention of this place. Our invincible Viceroy one day broke his sword in the body of a Moor: this had happened to him several times before, but now he had no other arms, nor any of his soldiers with him. He saw another horseman bearing down on him, sabre in hand, preparing to strike. The Viceroy seized him by the body and struggled with him for some time, finally wresting the sabre from his grasp and killing him with the same weapon. A few days later, when retiring at evening with his guards, he received a musket-shot on his hand which he had

[1] Martin (I, 410) says much the same, the resulting walls being cannon-proof. Cf. p. 517 *post*.

[2] The *Journal* (II, 24), speaking of a sortie by the Viceroy with some of his guards on the night of 1 December, says these frequent night expeditions of his caused alarm among those who knew the need they had of this great man. To sleep on the rampart like the least soldier, to do rible his rounds in bad weather, and to put himself at the head of those goir g to the firing line, 'are' (it says) 'his lesser fatigues'.

placed on his chest. He was saved by the thick deer-skin glove which he always wore, the ball flattening itself on it, and he suffered no injury but a swelling in his arm and hand, which lasted a little time.[1] It was really a miracle that he escaped all these dangers and perils so fortunately, as he braved them every hour of the day and, besides these daily fatigues and pains, he did the rounds on foot along the bastions and ramparts two or three times during the night. By this vigilance he kept everyone on the alert against surprise by the enemy, who were believed to be preparing a general assault on the town. This undoubtedly gave very hard work to the besieged, who had great difficulty in manning the walls and bastions, owing to the small number of men who were resisting so many thousands of besiegers.

21 *December* 1672. M. de Rebrey, the governor of St. Thomé, who had justly been given this honourable post as a reward for having been the first to enter the town with his company, as well as having mastered it and opened the gates to our triumphant troops, went out in the morning with some musketeers to skirmish and chase off some cavalry squadrons, who had taken shelter in a little grove of banyan trees. The fight was very bitter on both sides, but finally our men got possession of the grove. Captain de Rebrey, as a gallant and experienced officer, was rallying his men, who were wildly rushing about in places full of ambushes, when he received a musket-ball in his body and fell to the ground. He was carried to the town by his men and received silently and sadly by the garrison who thought he was dead.[2] Every one spoke in praise of his courage and the strength and help it always gave them. For four or five days he was in great danger from this wound; but God, Who did not wish to deprive the Viceroy of the support given him by one who might be termed his right-hand

[1] Martin (I, 402) confirms Carré, saying that on 16 or 17 December de la Haye was struck by a musket-ball, which penetrated his glove, jerkin, and shirt, but gave him only a contusion.

[2] Martin (I, 403) and the *Journal* (II, 28–9) agree that de Rebrey went out with a few men to capture some horses that were grazing between the Moor trenches and the town. Seeing this, some 200 or 300 men left the trenches and charged the French, who defended themselves bravely and some of whom were killed. They also agree that de Rebrey was wounded by a musketeer. Martin adds that the wound was a dangerous one, and his bad state gave anxiety to the garrison, by whom he was generally esteemed for his courage and sincerity.

man, restored him to life, and preserved him to our general joy. He was a man with every virtue and good quality that could be wished for in an accomplished captain.[1]

In these daily skirmishes another young infantry captain, M. de Tivernon of Orleans,[2] went out at the head of his company, and charged the enemy with only thirteen Frenchmen, having been obliged to detach a good number for another operation. He was surrounded on all sides by such a number of men that most of his brave companions were slain at his feet. The others thought their captain had fallen, and valiantly cut their way out of the mêlée. Their captain was thus left alone, but calmly and courageously defended himself for a quarter of an hour with grenades, petards, pistols, etc., so that, after having killed a number of the boldest Moors who approached him, and still fighting like a lion, he gained enough time to allow the rest of his company and some cadets, who were searching for him, to charge and scatter the enemy and rescue their brave captain. He was extremely fortunate, as he had from eight to ten gun-shot wounds, besides sabre and lance-cuts all over his body, but none of them mortal. All that remained was a cut on the face, the scar of which he will proudly carry all his life.

The French were continually in action, and gained so many astonishing victories, that the local people said openly that God and the glorious apostle, St. Thomas, were visibly fighting on the side of this unknown and Christian nation; that it did not seem possible without supernatural help for a handful of Frenchmen to have resisted such powerful enemies for so long, as they were practically destitute in a foreign country, and besieged in a town which had been taken by them in six hours with 300 men; or to have effected such carnage, and endured the fatigue of continual fights, as well as a very formidable siege; or in fine to have massacred so many of the enemy, already numbering some nine or ten

[1] His wound had improved by 6 January 1673, and was almost healed by 19 February, when he went to the cathedral to thank God for his recovery (Martin, I, 406, 419). He was unfortunately killed on 7 December 1673 by a cannon-ball fired from St. Thomé, to the great grief of de la Haye and the town in general (Martin, I, 543; *Journal*, II, 140–2).

[2] No mention of de Tivernon's name, nor of this incident, appears in Martin's *Mémoires*, or in the *Journal*; but this of course does not mean that it did not occur, and Carré on his arrival at St. Thomé saw the captain among those who had been wounded (p. 378 *ante*).

thousand; and that they seemed to be invulnerable, for it was remarkable that one never heard of their being killed.

Nevertheless, in spite of the French successes and their own daily losses, the Moors obstinately advanced their trenches and works within musket-shot of our walls, and mounted their battery opposite, and so near to, the Porte Royale that our men could fight against them from its bastions. The 120-pounder gun was a terrible weapon. Its balls, passing over the bastions, did dreadful damage to the houses and parts of the town where they fell. It was soon seen that the enemy by this approach was preparing for a general assault. The Viceroy, that astute and clever soldier, had foreseen this move, and had constructed several redoubts, outside the town, which checked the enemy's plans. They thus found it almost impossible to do anything, without being at once discovered and charged by our men, who were always ready at the least signal made from these redoubts. So the enemy, seeing that he could not succeed in any of his undertakings, resolved to attack and demolish them, in the hope that this would better enable him to accomplish his plans. The nearest of them was a pagoda, which we had fortified and garrisoned with some twenty brave French sailors, who kept a close guard with several pieces of artillery and a quantity of other arms and munitions.[1] The Moors decided to begin on this one, but (wishing to find out the strength of the place and the number of its defenders before their attack) they arranged a ruse, which absolutely deceived us.

25 *December* 1672. *Christmas Day*. The Moors employed a fisherman from the outskirts of St. Thomé, who was accustomed to sell his fish to the French. They sent him with his catch to the pagoda, where he pretended that he had been fishing in the neighbouring river, and was taking what he had to the town. Our men readily believed him, as they often saw such people about; so they put down their ladder and brought him up to their redoubt, in order to buy his fish. The man had time enough to observe the state of

[1] The pagoda was probably to the south-west of the town, and was occupied about 8 November to prevent the Moors from recommencing their entrenchments: it was fortified and a redoubt, with a cannon on it, was raised near it. On 29 November, when the pagoda and the redoubt were unsuccessfully attacked, there were 9 or 10 men on guard in the former, and 7 in the latter (*Journal*, II, 20, 22; Martin, I, 399, 400–1; Love, I, 322); but, according to Martin (I, 403), 10 men were sent to reinforce the pagoda on 22 December. A general assault was expected about the 30th (*Journal*, II, 32–3; Martin, I, 405).

the place, and that there were only fourteen men in it. He had hardly descended when the sailors saw him running swiftly towards the Moors' camp to report what he had seen. This justly aroused their suspicions that he was a Moor spy, and they regretted, but too late, that they had not arrested him.[1] They reflected that they were too few in number to guard the place and, fearing a surprise, were on the point of sending to the town for help, when they saw about 6,000 Moors investing the pagoda on all sides.[2] Those men advanced with cries and fierce howls, but this did not frighten our men who had been accustomed to such clamour for some time. It could terrify only cowardly and effeminate people.

These fourteen Frenchmen of glorious memory saw they must perish or hold out till help could be sent. They therefore settled down and without worrying themselves very much at the large number of infidels, made every preparation to defend the post to the bitter end, resolute to sell their lives dearly to these enemies of our religion.[3] They did nothing desperate, nor were they at their wits' end to know what to do. They did not waste their ammunition on useless shots, but allowed the enemy to approach to the foot of their fort, so as to have them nearer at hand and more vulnerable to the attacks of their arms, petards, pistols, grenades, fire-pots, and the like, which would have been useless otherwise. Finally, after they had asked God for strength and courage to resist these enemies of our Faith, on seeing that the Moors had begun to raise the scaling ladders they had with them for that purpose, our men fired their artillery which they had loaded with cartridge. This made such havoc among the heathens that in less than half an hour the whole place was covered with

[1] This story receives some corroboration from Martin, who says (I, 405) that, after the attack on the pagoda, it was learnt that the Moors had sent spies to sell arrack and fish to the French there, and that they reported the small number of its defenders.

[2] Martin (I, 404) and the *Journal* (II, 29) say the attack took place on the afternoon of 24 December, and the former gives the number of Moors taking part in it, as well as in preventing help coming from St. Thomé, as over 4,000 horse and foot.

[3] The *Journal* (II, 29–31) distinguishes between the defence of the pagoda, and that of the redoubt in its precincts; the men in the former were (it says) surprised and had not time to fire even one round; but those in the redoubt defended it bravely. Martin (I, 404) puts the number of the defenders of the pagoda as only eight, but this conflicts with his previous statements (p. 473*n. ante*).

corpses and blood. That did not, however, daunt our enemies, who, like tigers roused by their bleeding wounds, charged with a fury that showed their resolve to take the fort or die in the attempt. They raised their ladders and approached to the foot of the redoubt; there they were met with a fire of iron, stones, musket-shots, and other kinds of missiles, which dropped in the midst of those thousands of men. This was so effective that they were not able to plant their ladders, and were obliged to withdraw a little to avoid these thunderbolts, which fell from the top of the fort with such fury that the whole neighbourhood of the redoubt seemed to be covered with flames.

Our men, finding the attack become a little lighter, then recommenced their fire with their cannons and muskets with such efficacy that it was terrible to see the carnage of these miserable heathens and Muhammadans.[1] But, if these fourteen noble Frenchmen did their duty so bravely, they were nevertheless assisted and encouraged from the town, where the besieged saw the fight and the vigorous defence of the redoubt. They opened fire from all the bastions on that side, so that the Moors found themselves under incessant attack in front and rear.[2] They had not even time to get clear of the dead and wounded, and were about to give up the attack, but were strengthened and kept in place by a reinforcement in the presence, action, and cries, of one of their generals, who, sabre in hand, rode from side to side, and led them again to the assault of this fort. The encounter was fiercer and more bitter than before; and as the pagoda was within only half a cannon-shot from the town, the fire from our bastions was of more effect on the enemy than that of the fort's defenders. Their ammunition began to fail, and the enemy, their fury and courage aroused by perceiving that the defenders' fire was less, attacked again more vigorously than ever.

The French in the town also noticed the slackening fire of the fort, and guessed it was due to lack of munitions. They tried to think out a way to send some as quickly as possible. They could not leave the defence of the town, to which they were all tied by

[1] Martin and the *Journal* (ibid.) give much the same account of the French defence. The former (I, 405) estimates the number of Moors killed at over 200; the *Journal* (II, 31) at 400.

[2] Martin (I, 404) says 'the Moors in the open gave good sport to the cannon of the place, which was very well served'.

great anxiety, for at the same time as the 6,000 men left to attack the redoubt, the rest of the enemy approached St. Thomé from all sides, to prevent any sortie from it in aid of the fort.[1] They succeeded in this, because their battery kept up such a continual fire on the Porte Royale that large breaches were made in the bastions and parapets of the walls. The besieged were, therefore, obliged to send everyone to that spot to repair the gaps with barrels and sacks full of earth and sand.[2] Nevertheless, seeing that the defenders of the redoubt were making a last effort to overturn the ladders and were hurling back the men on them with halberds, picks, and sabres, a company was risked as escort to a convoy of munitions, which crossed over successfully, but too late to get into the redoubt.[3] Our fourteen brave Frenchmen had at last been forced to yield after being riddled with a thousand wounds, and the post fell into the enemy's hands. Two of our men, who were not killed, though covered with wounds, made a last stand, which so terrified the enemy that it was some time before they were able to vanquish them. These two lions, not wishing to be captured or to die in the fort, leapt, sabre in hand, from the redoubt, and fell on an appalling heap of bodies, both dead and wounded. They were so covered with blood and wounds that they were left for dead, being unrecognisable among the large number of corpses: so these two unfortunate men, who were still alive and had enough strength to drag themselves at night to the foot of the town-walls, were found there the next day by our people. They were carried into the place in a state which drew tears from all the garrison. Our Viceroy himself went to receive them and wanted to embrace them, in spite of their blood and wounds. There was not a single officer, who did not wish to visit and caress them; and their own comrades could hardly bear to leave them until they were in

[1] According to Martin (I, 404), de la Haye went out with troops to come to their assistance, but on intelligence that over 2,000 Moors were ready to attack them, decided he could not risk it.

[2] Both Martin (I. 405) and the *Journal* (II, 32) say that the firing on the Porte Royale, and the repair of the parapets, took place after the attack on the pagoda, viz. on 27 and 28 December.

[3] The *Journal* and Martin do not support this. Martin (I, 404) merely says that la Rocque, de la Haye's steward, volunteered to carry powder and cartridges to the pagoda, but was killed only 30 paces away from where he started. The *Journal* (II, 31) confirms la Rocque's death, but says it was in skirmishing near the Porte Royale.

the hands of the surgeons, who were unable to find a single part of their poor bodies that was not full of wounds.[1]

The Moors, after taking this post, were weary of their plan to take the others. It had cost them 1,200 men in killed and wounded, as against the fourteen defenders; and the rest, being better supported and defended from the town, would involve more risk for them. As they thus were unable to maintain operations on any other side whatsoever, they continued their earthworks before the Porte Royale with unparalleled energy. In addition to this, they laid two mines, which would have wrought sinister damage in the place, had not the besieged foreseen this danger, and worked day and night without repose at a countermine and a deep ditch round the ramparts where the enemy's mine was expected. Nevertheless the besieged, finding that the enemy was daily pressing nearer, made sorties and other amazing efforts to check the Moors' plans.[2] The latter did not know how to continue their undertaking, and complete their mines, as they were always being hindered by fights, ruses, and continual surprises; so they planned a stratagem, by which they hoped our people would be deceived, namely a *pourparler* to discuss a truce, during which they hoped surreptitiously to finish the work on their mines—their last resource—with the great number of men that they had to spare. They had been told by some deserters of the depth of the tunnel we had dug, and their engineers, having reconnoitred the ground, assured them that they could burrow underneath our countermine. Baba Sahib, one of the three generals of the enemy's army, had his camp between Madras and St. Thomé, so it guarded the passage between them and closed all the roads by the sea. To carry out this scheme,

[1] There are conflicting stories on this point. The *Journal* (II, 30) says the sole survivor prevented the entry of the assailants for over an hour, after which, weakened by wounds, he escaped down one of the enemy's ladders to the ground; there he was helped by an officer, and managed to reach the town without any more wounds than the seventeen received on the redoubt, of which three were believed to be mortal. Martin (I, 404) states that of the eight defenders, two were killed; one, a sailor, though he had eight wounds, of which three were deemed mortal, escaped to the town; and that the other five were captured and beheaded by General Mandala Naik. Delestre (179) says two were caught and flayed alive by the Moors.

[2] The *Journal* entries of 25 December to 8 January (II, 31–7) and Martin (I, 405–6) speak of the continual progress of the Moor entrenchments and mines near the Porte Royale and the Colbert bastion; also of counter-measures taken by de la Haye, including some sorties and skirmishes.

he sent some of his principal officers to ask for a meeting. They were blindfolded and conducted into St. Thomé as far as the Viceroy's house. They stayed some time in private conversation with him, and made some proposals for peace and an arrangement on behalf of Baba Sahib. The Viceroy promised everything, showed them the utmost honour, and sent them back satisfied that the reply was all the general could possibly wish for. Next day the Viceroy selected a stalwart and sensible French officer, dressed him in rich clothes, and then sent him to Baba Sahib's camp, where he was received by the finest guards of the enemy. He was draped in a sheet and led to the general's tent. Here he was received in the Moor fashion, to the sounds of hundreds of instruments, with a troop of courtesans and dancing-girls, who would have been much better in the gay houses of a town and other peaceful places than in a camp full of blood, terror, and dreadful war-machines. The general regaled our envoy for an hour with such diversions, which are much esteemed by the Moors. He then dismissed his suite for a private talk with the Frenchman, who had brought an interpreter with him for this purpose. He informed the Moor general of the advantageous proposals sent by the Viceroy, if he wished to work sincerely for a just peace. The general took this affair in quite an unexpected manner. All these eastern nations are absolutely governed by private interest, so the general seriously tried to find some means of coming to an agreement, and sent back answers which sufficiently showed that he was not averse to the proposals made to him.[1]

The Viceroy, however, was the most suspicious man in the world, and well understood all the ruses and stratagems of war. He had been warned that the enemy were working incessantly, with great pains and fatigue, to advance their trenches, so sent a message to Baba Sahib that no faith could be placed on his suggestions for peace, until all their works were discontinued, in default of which the Viceroy was resolved to stop them by force. Whereupon the general sent a very obliging reply, and assured the Viceroy that all

[1] Another occasion on which de la Haye appears to have sent a Frenchman to Baba Sahib was early in February 1673, when Deltor (the second at Masulipatam) went as envoy to him (Martin, I, 401, 407, 415; *Journal*, II, 25–6, 37–8, 40). By 24 January proposed articles of peace seem to have been sent to Golconda (*Journal*, II, 44); and according to Martin (I, 415) Baba Sahib told Deltor that he expected orders from the court in two or three days to negotiate peace.

the workmen would be withdrawn from the works during the time the treaty was being discussed. It is certainly credible that he did his best, as he was driven by two motives of great weight, jealousy and self-interest; but the worst of this affair was that there were two other generals in this powerful army, who were also in command as absolutely as himself, and without whose consent and advice he could settle nothing. Baba Sahib found that neither of them shared his sentiments, nor his resolve to come to an agreement: he thus saw the ruin of all his schemes.[1] This is the reason why since that time he and his men never went anywhere near, nor took part in, any of the other two generals' fights or undertakings.

Our Viceroy, however, being warned that the Moors were working harder than ever at their works, truly believed that it was a stratagem and deception on the part of Baba Sahib to gain time to finish the mines.[2] This obliged him to make sorties and surprises day and night on the enemy, of whom so many were killed in all these encounters that they were distressed and thrown into the utmost dismay. The attacks were so frequent and widespread that the Moors were in a continual state of alarm; and their losses were so considerable that these actions of the French and the signal victories they daily gained began to sow terror, not only in this very powerful army, but all over the kingdom: so much so that, on the rumour that strong help was coming from France to the besieged, all the encamped Moors were so alarmed that the generals had the greatest difficulty in keeping their troops to military duty and obedience.[3] It was said throughout the state that, if

[1] This is confirmed by an entry of 31 January in the *Journal* (II, 46–7), which says the two other generals were opposed to making peace, while Baba Sahib desired this for the honour and profit that would accrue to him as Governor of the province in which St. Thomé lay. Martin (I, 415) adds that Baba Sahib had consented to all the Moor works being stopped during the negotiations; but in spite of this they went on, and in reply to a remonstrance from de la Haye he declared he could not help it, as he had to conceal his design of making peace from the other generals: it was to impress him with the need of discontinuing them that Deltor was sent to interview him.

[2] Thus the *Journal* (II, 48) records that on 7 February 1673 the Viceroy received an envoy, but was beginning to weary of so much coming and going, which had no result but to show that the Moors were unreliable people.

[3] The *Journal* (II, 34–6, 42) mentions sorties and skirmishes on 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, and 18 January 1673: it also (II, 40, 44) says that a Moor general, called Tatanneau, had retired with 500 horse, declaring that they would never take the town, in view of what he had seen in the fighting for the pagoda.

the recruits were like these first Frenchmen, they would go to the royal seat of Golconda and seize the king and all his treasure. This constrained the principal nobles at the court to consider some proposals for an agreement, to which the king gladly listened. It was represented to him that, as this place had been built by Europeans, there would be little prejudice to his state in handing it over to other Europeans, who asked only for an honourable peace, in order to establish useful and valuable trade in his kingdom. So matters were going on well and would doubtless have been finished with honour, but for the opposition of the Nawab, the prime minister of state and commander-in-chief, who had more regard for his own interests than for the peace and prosperity of the kingdom. The province of St. Thomé was the best part of his domains;[1] and seeing that the king was inclined towards an agreement, he managed to persuade him into changing his mind. He gave the king to understand that St. Thomé was in great straits and could not resist his powerful army much longer.[2] It was, therefore, decided to continue the war, as was also advised in many letters from the two generals, Mandala Naik and [Trimbak] Bussora, who were impelled by their own private interests. One was a lieutenant-general and a provincial governor subordinate to and paid by the Nawab. The other drew a large salary from the king for the duration of the siege. They both wrote letters to him, holding out the vain hope that the town would soon be in his power, provided both help and money continued to be sent; so that more levies began to be raised in all the towns and provinces of the kingdom.

The powerful army already sent, of which no successes had been heard, and the new levies now being made again, increased the French prestige so effectually that they were spoken of by everyone with fear; and even the bravest souls felt alarmed. Those who had deserted the Moor army, or had returned with wounds and other terrible marks of the valour and courage of this new nation, told things which roused admiration and astonishment every-

[1] The commander-in-chief was Nawab of the Carnatic, and Madras and St. Thomé fell within his domains (*E.F.*, 1668–9, 291–2; Love, I, 343–5).

[2] The Nawab Neknam Khan, who had captured St. Thomé in 1662, had died in 1672 and been succeeded by Musa Khan (see p. 328*n. ante*). The latter was reported to be entirely opposed to the cession of St. Thomé to the French (Martin, I, 497).

where. They said that these French had no vulnerable parts to injure, because they threw themselves bodily amidst lances, swords, and similar arms, and withdrew afterwards without any wounds, though covered with the blood of their enemies; and that they killed the latter in such numbers that it was impossible to withstand them, their hands and clothes being full of small pieces of iron, long, pointed, and round, that spouted fire and destroyed all those brave enough to oppose their furious attacks. They were of course speaking of pistols in their pockets or belts, grenades, petards, and bayonets, to which these orientals were not accustomed. They were so terrified at the tragic effects of such arms that they thought the French, by the use of these devastating thunderbolts in their fights, were invulnerable.

About this time, January 1673, when the whole kingdom of Golconda was under arms to oppose the progress of this terrifying handful of Frenchmen, the officers of our Company, who had been at Masulipatam for four years, were just beginning to establish credit and to understand the local customs and course of trade. They now found themselves in great danger of losing not only all the Company's goods in the factory, but even their lives, as the factory had been besieged two or three times. They would have been pillaged and massacred but for the courage and skill of M. Martin, their Chief, who with his brave junior officers, MM. Delattour, Malfosse, Deltor, La Rairie, Marcandiere,[1] and some Indian peons, put everything into such good order that no one dared attack them, on seeing their resolute stand. The French were, moreover, so much feared that no one ventured to offer the least opposition to their plans or undertakings. However, these gentlemen had sometime back received letters from M. Caron, ordering them to abandon this factory and to retire to St. Thomé with all the Company's goods. They themselves did not wish to risk staying any longer in a place where they might be murdered any day and lose all the Company's effects. They accordingly decided to leave this wealthy town, which had the richest trade in all the East. They could escape only by sea; and as it was impossible to get any sort of vessel from the Moors, they bought a little ship for

[1] MM. Deltor and Malfosse were sent from Surat to Masulipatam towards the end of 1669 (Martin, I, 233). As to La Rairie and Marcandière, see p. 483 *post*. As subordinate officers, their and Delattour's names are not mentioned by Martin.

1,800 livres from an English merchant, who traded privately in the place. They loaded all their belongings and merchandise on her, but the Moor Governor of Masulipatam was warned of this and immediately tried to prevent their departure.[1] He sent to M. Martin, the chief of the factory, and made many civil protestations of his friendship and protection. He earnestly begged M. Martin to stay with full confidence in the factory, saying that, though the French had taken St. Thomé and the whole kingdom was in arms against them, yet the Moors would certainly make a distinction in regard to the officers of the French Company, who would receive friendship, protection, and courtesy in the kingdom, as they were only traders and merchants, peaceful people and opposed to war.

The Governor spoke as an interested person: his principal revenue came from commerce, and from the large number of foreign merchants settled in the place. This led him to take the side of the traders, as he did on that occasion. Our Company's officers replied very civilly to the Governor's kind offers, but informed him of the orders received from their chief [M. Caron] to go to St. Thomé, in order to render their accounts, and not with a view to abandon the Masulipatam factory, where they promised to leave two officers to await their return. The Governor, somewhat satisfied with this explanation, allowed them to go, whenever they liked.[2] MM.

[1] There are some inaccuracies in this account of the abandonment of the French factory at Masulipatam. Martin and the other factors, under orders from Caron, left it on 6 August and went on board a vessel belonging to a merchant, named Mir Abdullah Baqir. In September the latter wanted to send it on a voyage to Tenasserim, and Martin received advice from St. Thomé that de la Haye could not spare a ship to bring them there: he, therefore, bought a ketch of 40 tons at Narsapur through a French private trader, called Junet, for Rs. 15,000 and on 15 September the French factors transferred themselves and most of the factory belongings to it (Martin, I, 334–5, 359–62; Kaeppelin, 76; F.R., 5 Mas., 59, 66). Narsapur was some 45 miles north of Masulipatam; and Madapollam, a suburb of that place, was a ship-building centre with an English factory and English private traders (Bowrey, 98–102; *E.F.*, II, Masulipatam, 1672, 1675), so the ketch may have been bought from an English merchant, as stated by Carré.

[2] Carré does not sufficiently distinguish between the time when the French left the factory, and the time when Martin decided to go to St. Thomé. On the former occasion the Governor was annoyed at their having embarked on Mir Abdullah's vessel, but was appeased by the merchants, who wanted the French to remain at Masulipatam and suggested assurances being given for their protection at the factory. They and a new Governor, who arrived on

Martin, Delattour, Deltor, and a clerk, embarked for St. Thomé: MM. Marcandiere and La Rairie took the road for Surat, whither they were taking some merchandise; while, to satisfy the Governor, M. Malfosse and a clerk stayed at the factory,[1] awaiting the results of this cruel war, which had set all the East on fire against our nation. I say 'all the East' because the capture, the defence, and the wonderful feats during the siege of St. Thomé, by a handful of Frenchmen so astonished all the Orient that there was not a single part of India which did not take a special interest in the matter, fearing it also might have to deal with this powerful and terrible nation. Besides this, all the other Europeans, impelled by the innate and mad jealousy they have always shown against our people, did not fail to incite all the Eastern nations to destroy utterly what remained of our fleet and our Company. The Portuguese by their tall talk, so full of overweening pride and baseness, manifested their ill-will towards us everywhere. The English could not suffer our settlement [at St. Thomé], as they foresaw the injury that would result to their own Company. They openly said that the French were admirable at establishing themselves in the best towns and at conducting their trade, arms in hand, without intending to pay any taxes or to offer any presents or other courtesies to the princes and lords of the land, whereas they [the English], who had been established so long in the country, spent yearly the best part of their trade-profits in paying tribute, giving presents, and

27 September, kept pressing Martin to stay; and he and his Council agreed to do this, subject to the Governor procuring a farman from Golconda, assuring them of protection. The Governor had taken steps to get this, and it was brought to Martin on 4 October. Martin then brought the ketch to a point near Masulipatam, where on 5 October he camped and received further assurances from the Governor; but he refused to return to the factory without orders to do so from his superior officers. At his instance the Governor agreed to get a more explicit farman, including certain provisions desired by the directors at Surat. Later on, however, he demanded 1,000 pagodas for the proposed farman: that and peremptory orders from Surat to go to St. Thomé, made Martin decide to do this. He managed to leave accordingly on 10 January 1673, without offending the Governor, who promised to protect the two Frenchmen he left at the factory (Martin, I, 359–60, 362–5, 381, 382–3; Kaeppelin, 76–8; O.C. 3721, *f.* 2; 5 Mas., 63, 67; *Journal*, II, 41).

[1] Martin (I, 383) corroborates Carré, saying that Malfosse was the first of the two French officers left at Masulipatam; that he gave permission to two clerks to go to Surat by land under a passport obtained from the Governor; and that the rest of the staff embarked with him to come to St. Thomé.

defraying the other expenditure needed to maintain the goodwill and protection of the Indian princes. As for the Dutch, they had already shown us their animosity, the effects of which I shall show later on.

In the month of January 1673, a small Danish vessel passed within sight of St. Thomé. The Viceroy dispatched an armed longboat after it and the ship was brought into our roads. Her captain was taken to interview the Viceroy, and told him that he came from Bengal, that his ship was a prize taken by their Danish Company from the Moors, with whom they were at war, and that he was conducting her to Tranquebar, their chief factory and fortress. The Viceroy, who was greatly in need of provisions, on learning that the little ship was laden with them, gave orders that all of them should be transferred to one of our own ships, and took an exact account of them, so as to repay the captain at the market price then current.[1] The Danes at Tranquebar, who had rendered many kind services to our squadron, were much shocked that we should have thus detained their ship and taken her cargo without consulting them. They attributed the loss of their ship to our action, for after leaving St. Thomé she went to Madras, where she was burnt by accident shortly afterwards, a fire having broken out during the night.

About the same time a large merchant ship from Madras was also stopped while passing St. Thomé. She belonged to Senhor Joan Peroire [John Pereira],[2] a local Portuguese and an honourable well-to-do man. In vain he made many insistent demands and supplications for her release to the Viceroy, who (without giving any reason for his action) ordered the cargo to be put in our storehouses. It consisted of gingeli (a grain for making oil), ebony

[1] The *Journal* (II, 36–7) does not mention this incident, but Martin (I, 406) states that it happened on 8 January, and the ship had a considerable quantity of rice, which de la Haye bought and stored. The Danes had a long war with the Mughals in Bengal, which did not end till about 1677 (Bowrey, 181–90, and notes at pp. 182–3, 190–1).

[2] João Pereira de Faria was a merchant at Madras, whose name still survives there, as a quarter of the town, north of the General Hospital, is known as 'John Pereira's' (Love, I, 433*n*.). In 1681 the Governor and Council employed him, or his son, to treat with the King of Burma for a settlement at Pegu, as he had much experience of voyaging thither (M.R., 1680–1, 8–12, and 1681, 3). His ship may have been the Moor barque, which wanted to go to Madras and was taken on 26 January 1673 (*Journal*, II, 44).

[MS. *esbainne*], pitch [MS. *bray*], saffron, long pepper, etc.[1] The ship was allowed to go to pieces in the harbour without even releasing four poor old Hindu sailors, who were kept at work on the fortifications with all the prisoners of war.[2] These men were at last handed over to me some months later, after many supplications to the Viceroy on my part [pp. 617–8]. He had enough trust in me to feel that my representations were just and reasonable after I had discussed them with him.

The Viceroy, though he learnt that the whole kingdom of Golconda was working to raise new levies for the war, and that they had resolved to take the town at any cost [was unmoved]. He had ceased to marvel at his feats during the siege; and it really seemed as if this great man had a special genius for succeeding in his plans and enterprises. For, during this time, the Moors before St. Thomé daily expected large reinforcements of men and money; but a commotion took place at the court, which ruined all these hopes and helped the French a great deal.

They were, as I have just said, occupied in raising new levies all over the kingdom; and elephants were already prepared to carry the funds which were to be the nerves and sinews of this war. The arrival of ambassadors from the Great Mughal, however, changed everything and made the king think of other affairs of more consequence to him than the capture of St. Thomé. You should know that the late predecessor and father-in-law of the present king had only three daughters as his legitimate offspring. He guarded them strictly in his palace, hoping to gain alliance and friendship with the neighbouring kings by the marriages of these lovely princesses. At that time the eldest son of the Great Mughal, who in his youth had the same passion and inclination that his father had had before he came to the throne, to travel and roam through other king-

[1] 'Gingeli' is the common trade-name for the seed and oil of the grain *sesamum indicum* (*Hobson-Jobson*, 373). 'Esbainne' must be *ébène*; ebony, a wood grown in India, Ceylon, etc. 'Bray' is *brai*, pitch or tar; the best generally came from Sumatra (Bowrey, 293), but it was also obtainable from *sal* trees in Bengal and elsewhere in India (*Hobson-Jobson*, 295). It was a commodity that happened to be wanted at Fort St. George (1 F.S.G., 18–20). 'Saffron' was the local name for turmeric (*Hobson-Jobson*, 789). As to the variety of pepper known as 'long pepper', see ibid. 698.

[2] The prisoners captured at St. Thomé were first of all put on the *Jules* (*Journal*, II, 5), but she had left for France (p. 459 *ante*).

doms and countries in disguise as a private person,[1] wished above all things to visit Golconda, to observe its strength and power. He stayed there for some time disguised as a fakir, a condition much venerated among these people, in which any one can pass everywhere without any risk. These men are much esteemed and are called the beloved of God, as persons who spend their lives in pilgrimages, prayer, and voluntary poverty. However, the prince, who was the heir of the most powerful kingdom in the East, could not remain disguised for very long in the capital of Golconda without showing some spark of his nobility and high station. The King of Golconda got wind of it and, like a second Herod, feared the power of this young prince, hidden in the garb of poverty. He was, with all his court, so troubled that he had no peace until they had found this unknown prince, who, seeing he was discovered, made no objection to going to see the king. He informed him that it was a desire to travel and to study the customs of other foreign countries that had impelled him to wander about like this. The King of Golconda then rendered him all the honours due to his exalted birth. The young prince was full of gratitude and promised an eternal alliance and friendship. These two great princes being thus bound in deep affection, the king desired to attach this young man even more closely to him. He saw that the prince was handsome, well built, and full of the noble qualities requisite for a person of his condition. He bethought himself of a stratagem, by which even the greatest and cleverest men in the world are hoodwinked and reduced to absolute submission.

The charm, the vivacity, and other fine qualities of this young prince, made the king sure that he would snap at the most delicious and delicate morsel, so dearly guarded in the royal palace. They were accustomed to talk by themselves, as the young prince

[1] Aurangzeb certainly visited different countries, such as Balkh and Afghanistan, and Indian districts, such as the Deccan, Gujarat, and Sind, in his youth (1618–49); but this was officially, as a governor or commander of troops (Sarkar, *Aurangzib*, 10–21). The only recorded instance of his disguising himself seems to be that told by Bernier (20) and Manucci (II, 234–5), when he is said to have pretended to be ambassador from the Great Mughal to the King of Golconda, with a view to seizing the latter's person. This, however, was in 1656, at the very time that (according to Carré) his eldest son, Sultan Muhammad, disguised himself as a fakir: and both Bernier and Manucci err, for Aurangzeb did not reach Golconda till after the king had fled to his fortress (see *n.* 1 at p. 488 *post*).

did not wish to know anyone else. One day the king took him for a stroll of about 200 paces in a lovely spot close to the palace. During it he said that, wishing to evince his esteem and confidence in all the prince's fine qualities and virtues, he would show him the most beautiful thing of all the treasures and riches he possessed. So, when they were both in this delightful place, the king opened the door of a little summer house, covered with sweet-scented flowers and ornamented with precious stones. 'Here,' he said to the young prince on entering it, 'is my richest treasure, which I can do no better than to place in your hands, if you consent.' The eldest princess, having been warned of this interview, advanced before them, looking so beautiful and charming that the young prince's heart became as soft as wax, on which the picture of this lovely girl was imprinted. He began to feel a kind of disquietude, shyness, and constraint he had never known before. The lovely princess, on her side, had often heard an account of the virtues and perfections of this young prince. Seeing how handsome he was, she felt an intense emotion in her heart, which showed itself in her charming face by a blush that enhanced her beautiful complexion and made her appear more lovely than ever.

The young prince was so overcome that he knew from that moment he had been wounded for the rest of his days by the sweet invisible arrows which came from the princess's charming eyes. These three greatest people in the kingdom then sat down on the rich carpets spread in this spot, the most delightful one in the palace. They began a conversation on the subject which had led them there. Their eyes and the tender thoughts in their hearts revealed more between these two attractive beings than their lips could say, as they were restrained by a certain shyness and could not yet express all that was passing in their souls. They were both so much in love at this first interview that the young prince, whose affection was less restrained, would not leave until he was promised the princess in marriage. The king was delighted at this success and expressed his great pleasure at the prince having accepted his offer of the thing he held most precious in the world. As for the lovely and entrancing princess, she certainly felt her heart full of joy and complete satisfaction when the king, her father, asked her if she would have this agreeable prince as a husband. She was so enchanted with him that her poor heart was no longer free or at peace.

These three were thus agreed; but the young prince begged the king not to divulge anything, since he wished to return home incognito, as he had come. So the king called only his prime minister of state and another person, who was high in his Council, to witness this marriage, which took place secretly in the king's palace. In the contract, which was written in letters of gold, it was stated that, if the King of Golconda died without male heirs, the succession would pass to the eldest son of the Mughal, his son-in-law. These articles were signed by the king and the two nobles, and put into the hands of the young prince, who returned to his own kingdom with his young and lovely bride,[1] without any disclosure or rumour of this affair either in the neighbouring courts, or even in Golconda itself. The king, whose alliance and friendship were sought by his neighbour the King of Bijapur, gave him his second daughter in marriage, with a dowry of precious stones and a large sum of money. This was the girl who poisoned her husband in order to put on the throne another man, by whom she had a son, the present king. The previous one chastened her for her first crime by refusing to receive her in his kingdom on her return from a pilgrimage to Mecca.[2] The indulgences gained by this did

[1] It is sad to have to spoil the romance of the Abbé's description of Prince Muhammad's marriage to the daughter of Abdullah Qutb Shah, but the hard facts compel it. The prince came to Golconda, not in disguise as a fakir, but as the commander of advance cavalry sent by Aurangzeb (who was then Viceroy of the Deccan) in January 1656 to invade that kingdom. The king fled from Bhagnagar to the fort of Golconda before his arrival. Aurangzeb, with the bulk of his army, followed in February and began the siege of Golconda, which lasted to 30 March. Meanwhile negotiations for a settlement had been going on, and one of the terms proposed (in addition to the payment of arrears of tribute, and a large indemnity) was the marriage in question, together with a dowry of the district of Rāmgīr. This was agreed to, and the marriage took place early in April. The prince, however, was represented at it by proxy, and he did not see his wife till she was brought to his camp a week later (Sarkar, *Aurangzib,* 35–8, and larger edn., I, 238–40; *C.H.I.,* IV, 207–8; Grant Duff, I, 124; *E.H.I.,* VII, 115, 118–9; Manucci, I, 235; Bernier, 21–2; Tavernier, *Travels,* 135–7; Thevenot, pt. III, 302). The last four authorities and *C.H.I.,* IV, 273–4, support Carré's statement that the King of Golconda agreed that Sultan Muhammad should succeed him, if he died without male heirs; but Sarkar (I, 240) mentions only a general undertaking by him to obey the emperor in future.

[2] According to Sarkar, *Aurangzib,* 268, and Thevenot, pt. III, 304, the second daughter of King Abdullah was the one who married Sultan Muhammad, and his eldest daughter married a Saiyyid of noble descent; but Martin

not prevent her receiving the punishment she merited; and she was compelled to finish her life in poverty on the sea coast of the Bijapur kingdom [e.g. at Mirjan or Porto Novo].

The King of Golconda had now only the youngest princess left. There was a youthful prince of the premier royal branch, the sole survivor of this house, which had been ruined partly on account of state policy and partly to assure the succession. By means of intrigues and friends at court he managed to secure the esteem and friendship of the king, who was probably struck with remorse at the disaster to this powerful house—one of the most illustrious in the kingdom—and felt obliged to exalt the young man by giving him his last daughter in marriage. The ceremonies were celebrated before all the powerful nobles of the kingdom, and no one doubted but that this young prince ought to be the legitimate successor to the throne. He had formerly sought the help of important people to obtain this delicate morsel, which was for him the first step in the ladder towards the attainment of his designs. After his marriage he conducted himself with such humility and a desire to please the king and the nobility in every way that he succeeded in this, and the king in dying left him his crown with the general approbation of the court.[1]

The young king reigned for a little time in peace with much brilliance. He thought he would have no other troubles in holding such a fine crown than the war at St. Thome, which he hoped to bring to an end by the preparations now being made. These were,

(I, 331) agrees with Carré's allocation. In either case, however, no daughter of his married the King of Bijapur, Ali Adil Shah II. Carré seems to refer to the wife of the latter's father, Muhammad Adil Shah, who died in 1656. According to Bernier (197), she was a 'sister of the king of Golconda', presumably of Abdullah Qutb Shah, who reigned from 1626 to 1672. It is untrue that she married Ali Adil Shah, and was the mother of his son Sikandar, who succeeded him in 1672 (see vol. I, p. 246). Her pilgrimage to Mecca is referred to by Bernier, 197, and Tavernier, *Travels*, I, 148. According to the former, on her return from it, she experienced 'a cold and insulting reception' from King Ali Adil Shah, because of her unbecoming conduct on board the Dutch vessel which conveyed her to Mocha, on her way to Mecca.

[1] The marriage was one to Abul Hasan, who succeeded King Abdullah in 1672 (p. 327 *ante*) and was related to the royal family (Sarkar, *Aurangzib*, 268; *C.H.I.*, IV, 274; Manucci, III, 132, IV, 444). Thus Martin (I, 331–2) calls him 'a prince of the race of the former kings of Golconda'. See also Ovington's account of the marriage in an Appendix to his *Voyage of Surat*, pp. 527–42 of the 1696 edn.

however, soon destined for other and more pressing occasions. The ambassadors of the Great Mughal were received with all honours due to the rank of the monarch who sent them. They notified, in the presence of the chief nobles of the kingdom, the claims that the first Mughal prince had to the kingdom of Golconda, founded on his marriage contract with the eldest daughter and legitimate heiress of the late king. They also warned the princes and ministers, who had governed the state since the king's death, that they must be prepared to receive him as their sovereign and rightful king: otherwise they would shortly see the invasion and ruin of their kingdom by all the forces of the Great Mughal.[1] It is difficult to imagine the trouble and alarm in the Golconda Council of State caused by this unexpected embassy. The whole affair was kept secret and hidden as much as possible, in order to prevent turbulent elements in the kingdom from doing anything prejudicial to the crown. Nevertheless the ambassadors were entertained and laden with gifts, while a secret council was held to find a way of avoiding this dreadful threat, which meant no less than the loss of the crown of this powerful kingdom. Finally, after much thought and many meetings it was decided to send to the Mughal prince five million pagodas, a sum equal to thirty million livres, which were placed in the hands of the ambassadors together with a secret pact. In this the King of Golconda recognised that his kingdom was a tributary of the Great Mughal, the most powerful king in India, and undertook to pay an annual tribute of an amount equal to that brought by his envoys, as a mark of dependence on, and submission to, his empire. This great sum so exhausted the finances of the kingdom that no more money could

[1] We have not found any historical corroboration of such an embassy. Neither Sarkar (268–9, and large edn., IV, 331), nor the *C.H.I.* (IV, 273–4) mention any such objection to the succession of Abul Hasan: and, as Aurangzeb had incarcerated Prince Muhammad at Gwalior since 1660, he is obviously unlikely to have put forward a claim for his succession. On the other hand envoys may have been sent to congratulate Abul Hasan, and perhaps to demand payment of arrears of tribute. Some support to the latter surmise is given by Ovington, in the same Appendix about 'a late revolution in the kingdom of Golconda'. This says (ed. 1696, p. 548) that one of the charges against the Nawab Musa Khan at the time of his dismissal in 1673 (p. 508 *post*) was his refusal to pay several sums of money to the ambassadors of the Great Mughal, 'very much to the dishonour of the King, he having passed his word for the punctual payment of them'.

be sent to help in the siege of St. Thomé.[1] But it was necessary to guard against the menaces of the Mughal ambassadors, so the levy of troops was continued all over the kingdom. They were glad to conceal this object, on the pretext of sending help for that siege; but the troops were actually intended for dispatch to the frontiers, to observe the strength and movements of the Mughal armies which were engaged in various expeditions.[2]

While all this was passing at the Golconda court, the army at St. Thomé made a last effort against the town. They knew nothing about this change in the state's affairs and daily hoped for help and money to pay for their works and hardships. They bombarded the side of the town facing the country, so that the bastions and walls, though strong and well defended, would have been destroyed by the enemy's continual fire, if the besieged, who had never lost a single one of their operations against the Moors, had not made a decision that was truly very dangerous, but necessary. It was hoped thereby to gain some peace and respite from the greatest trouble that they had. This came from the enemy battery, which was the most terrible that had ever been known, and was com-

[1] Taking the pagoda at Rs. $3\frac{1}{2}$, the écu at Rs. 2 and the livre at $\frac{1}{3}$ écu (Tavernier, *Travels*, I, 327, 329), Carré's calculation is approximately correct; but he seems to have valued the pagoda at Rs. 3, which was too low in 1673, cf. Fryer (II, 129), who puts it at Rs. $3\frac{1}{2}$. We have found no confirmation of such a payment to the Mughals, except the statement referred to in the preceding note, which in fact goes against such a payment, though demanded. A depletion of funds seems more likely to have been caused by the large contribution Abul Hasan is said to have made to Shivaji in 1672 (*C.H.I.*, IV, 274; cf. vol. I, p. 310). In fact in his book (II, 67, 80–2) the Abbé says that Shivaji demanded and got two million pagodas, equal to 12 million livres, and that it was this which enfeebled the Moor army and led to the raising of the first siege. Carré evidently thinks that the Golconda state first became tributary to the Mughal emperor in 1672: it had in fact been so for many years previously, and Aurangzeb's invasion in 1656 was partly due to the state being then in arrears with payment of the tribute (*C.H.I.*, IV, 197, 207; Sarkar, 31).

[2] No Mughal force seems to have come to the neighbourhood of the Golconda state in 1672. The Mughals were then mainly occupied with Shivaji (*C.H.I.*, IV, 259; Sarkar, 224–6; *E.F.*, I, 220–2, 224); and, though Bahadur Khan was ordered to invade the Bijapur state, he got no farther than Pedgaon, 55 miles east of Poona, and over 100 miles from Golconda territory (Sarkar, 249–52; Grant Duff, I, 209). On the other hand there had probably been threats of attack by the Mughals, for Langhorn, writing in January 1673, said that the Golconda troops, having 'made peace with' the Mughals, had got close to the walls of St. Thomé (O.C. 3742).

posed of five pieces of 120, 60, 48, 36, and 18-pounders. It formed the main hope and strength of the Moors, who had surrounded it with a double entrenchment and a guard of 3,000 men. The place was so well protected that no one could imagine that the besieged, whatever advantage they might gain, would be foolhardy enough to undertake anything against it.[1] But they made a faulty reckoning, not knowing that in warfare, especially in a siege, the most skilful and intelligent captains in the defence of a place must use all their industry and forces to frustrate the principal plans, and destroy the strongest armaments of the besiegers. As witness these splendid Tyrians, who with invincible courage defended their town against the 'Conqueror of the World' [a reference to Alam-panah, *world refuge,* a title of the King of Golconda], for seven months, and also had the industry and fortitude to destroy the artillery of their enemy.

This obliged our Viceroy to undertake the destruction of the terrible battery that was bombarding St. Thomé into ruins. He depended on his good luck or, better still, on the Divine help which had always assisted him in all his exploits. He made his plans with the same resolution and firm courage as if it had been a slight unimportant undertaking. A good and prudent soldier must conceal and hide all his most dangerous enterprises for fear of spies, which are usually in both armies, when so near one another. This new plan, the most dangerous yet undertaken by the French, was executed without the knowledge even of the people in the town.[2]

Thursday, 23 *February* 1673. The Viceroy generally made three rounds every night along the ramparts and bastions to see that everyone did his duty. At midnight, during his second round, he ordered all the grenadiers, 600 Frenchmen and four companies of lascarins, to assemble on the parade ground. There he urged them to do their utmost in the enterprise into which he was about to lead them. He left the town by a concealed gate, and led all his

[1] Cf. pp. 448, 470, 473 *ante*.

[2] According to Martin (1, 420), de la Haye on 20 February called a council of all the commanders of the French ships, MM. de Rebrey, du Tremblay (purser of the fleet), and Martin himself. They decided to have a night sortie, with a view to drive back the enemy, who had come within 100 paces of the town and was daily advancing, as well as to destroy its battery, which did much damage, especially one piece, whose balls, if they had been of iron, instead of stone, would have weighed 140 lbs.

men so skilfully that they got to the foot of the trenches of the enemy's battery without being discovered. He spent some time in posting each company and instructing them in what they had to do on this most dangerous occasion.[1] Hardly had he finished his orders, when an enemy sentry, seeing some matches [of muskets] alight, called out two or three times in his own tongue 'who goes there'; and (as he continued to shout) some of our people, who were near, silenced him with a musket-shot, which threw him from the top to the bottom of the trenches he was guarding.[2] At the same time our grenadiers mounted the trench at the same place and threw their grenades, petards, fire-pots, and the like, into the enemy's fort, where men were so crowded, one on the top of the other, that these arms of fire and iron wrought great havoc among this horde of infidels, and their howls and cries created a general alarm all over the camp. Our grenadiers continued throwing their thunderbolts into this confined place, which was packed with Moors. They were supported by two companies who, climbing on the trenches, kept up a sustained fire; while others, posted in places from which help might be forthcoming, also fired continually with a vigour that mowed down the first enemies who tried to advance, and put the remainder to flight back to the camp of their generals. So the Moors, who were entrenched in the battery, found themselves assailed on all sides with the inevitable prospect of being slain and cut into pieces by our fire and the various missiles which our men kept throwing over. They tried to resist at first and fired all their guns, but without effect, as the French had foreseen this and taken cover. Consequently, being unable to stand our furious attack and the carnage we caused among them, they abandoned the place; but on climbing over their trenches to escape they found more of our men outside, who did not let them go very far.[3] On another side our bastions

[1] Martin (I, 421) and the *Journal* (II, 52–3) show that the raid took place on the night of 22–3 February; also that the detachments were arranged and given their orders before the sortie began at midnight, instead of after arrival at the enemy's trenches, as here stated. The *Journal* (ibid. 52) puts the total number of troops making the sortie at 450.

[2] The *Journal* (II, 53) on the other hand says the sentry fired a shot, on discovering the assailants.

[3] According to Martin (I, 422) and the *Journal* (II, 53), some resistance was offered by the Moors, before the French entered the enemy's lines and mastered the battery. On the other hand Carré is corroborated by the *Journal* as to the battery

had received orders to fire all their artillery a little beyond the enemy battery, so as to prevent the approach of their cavalry and fresh soldiers. This was done so effectively that any of the enemy who wished to come to the rescue were destroyed by cannon-balls, which bounded about on all sides and made havoc of every-thing they encountered. In their retreat the enemy could distin-guish nothing in the darkness of the night but fire, flames, and the terrific thunder of all kinds of arms. They imagined that all the French forces were in the middle of them and fled to their camp, where they were forced to entrench themselves and remain on guard under cover, expecting all night that the fury and rage of our French would reach them there. It is certain that, if we had pushed on our attack, we should have completely defeated them and have also carried their camp, as it was in such terror and disorder. The Viceroy, however, had no other aim but to take the enemy's battery.[1] He maintained such discipline, and was person-ally so active, that he kept all our companies for some time at their posts to pour a continual fire on the Moors, as they leapt out of their trenches in trying to escape. The battery was abandoned to our men, and more than 2,000 infidels were killed or wounded inside and outside this stronghold.[2]

As it was found that long and arduous work, either with ele-phants, or with some powerful machine, would be required to re-move this artillery, the Viceroy decided to leave it in the same place after spiking it, thus rendering it useless. It was almost im-possible to move, as it was in a sort of fort, surrounded by a ditch and high trenches, to destroy which would be a long and difficult task. It was now almost daybreak, which obliged our men to work rapidly to spike the guns; this they did with the exception of two, the 18-pounder and the big 120-pounder, whose touch-holes were too large to be spiked. The big one was the mainstay of the enemy and did much damage, so it was blown up, which was easy, as a large quantity of powder and munitions was found there in the

firing before it was overcome, and by Martin (I, 421–2) as to detachments being placed in support of the attacking force and to prevent sorties by the enemy.

[1] This is opposed to Martin's statement (I, 422) that de la Haye intended, after the capture of the battery, to advance and attack the Moor rear trenches and force their big camp, but that this was prevented by a disorder arising among the new lascarins, who were not fully trained.

[2] Martin (I, 422) says the Moors lost over 100 men (? killed); the *Journal* (II, 53) gives the loss of the defenders of the battery as 55 killed and 60 wounded.

enemy's magazine. The gun was filled with cartridges of powder, which were rammed in by force up to the muzzle; this they buried in the earth, leaving the breech uppermost, with a little opening to serve as a touch-hole. A long train of powder was laid as far as the back of the trenches, where our people were under cover. The powder was then fired, and the gun blew up with such force that the whole adjoining earth was shaken, and the noise was like a terrible clap of thunder.[1] Having been so successful with this principal gun, it would have been easy to do the same with the others, which would have been better for us than to leave them in the place, with the chance of their being retaken by the enemy, as happened shortly afterwards.[2]

The Viceroy was very satisfied at having so happily carried out this enterprise. He did not wish, however, to risk or overtire his brave soldiers, who had done so well on this occasion in pursuing the enemy; so, after breaking all the gun-carriages, he removed everything that might be useful such as powder and balls, and upset all the debris of the spiked cannons, one on the top of the other. At daybreak he brought all his men in good order to the town; they then went straight to the large church, to give thanks to God for the successful ending which He gave continually to the French arms over these infidels and enemies of our faith.[3]

The following day, the Moors returned to their battery, which they found in the state I have just described. They were in such consternation at this loss that they did not know what to do, and were twelve days without firing their artillery again, or daring to undertake anything against the besieged. They were so afraid that they did nothing but remain on their guard and the defensive against the continual alarms, ruses, stratagems, and the constant fierce attacks of the besieged.[4] And indeed it was not without

[1] The *Journal* (II, 53), Martin (I, 422), and Delestre (179), corroborate the statements as to the enemy guns having been spiked, except the largest, which was blown up. Martin says the explosion made an inconceivable noise and threw pieces of the gun more than half a mile away.

[2] Thus, according to the *Journal* (II, 53), the Moors fired one of the guns, which they had unspiked, on the morning of 23 February; cf. also p. 504 *post*.

[3] Martin (I, 423) also mentions this church service.

[4] Against this the *Journal* (II, 54–5) and Martin (I, 424–5) speak of the Moors firing their guns occasionally and continuing their works against the town. On the other hand they agree that the Moors seemed to have been shaken and to have lost their former zeal.

reason that their dismay and terror kept them on the alert day and night, for our French, finding themselves left in peace after this last victory, resolved to strike while the iron was hot, and to dislodge the enemy entirely from his trenches and the whole countryside. Five or six companies, therefore, went out every day and attacked the enemy on all sides.[1] This at last enabled them to use the roads to get provisions and food from the country and the town of Madras, where, in spite of prohibitions and the English guards, the women were the first to run risks. They came day and night laden with fresh bread, rice, fowls, fruit, wine, and the like, which our men found all the more pleasant, as for over six months they had had little taste of these delicacies. Some of these poor women paid dearly for this, as they were sometimes surprised by the Moors and treated with the utmost cruelty and outrage.

Meanwhile this cowardly and infamous nation, perhaps the most selfish in the world, let their good friends, the English, know that all the courtesy and signs of affection and alliance which they showed them, had no other aim than the assistance and help which they incessantly drew from them. The Moor generals now saw their army very much weakened and their condition precarious, as they were without any reinforcements or remittances from the court of Golconda; nor could they any longer hold their troops, who, lacking food and wages, threatened to abandon everything.[2] Having, therefore, no other resource but the English, they went to Madras as if on a visit, and passed a whole day there in festivities and great feasts. They concluded their visit by a request for the loan of a large sum of money from the English, who could not refuse it, as they had agreed to give help, whenever needed.[3] With this money, which is the best sinew of war, they to

[1] Martin (I, 425) corroborates this, saying that de la Haye decided to profit by the demoralisation of the enemy. The *Journal* (II, 55) also says the lascarins had been having skirmishes with the enemy for some time prior to 9 March.

[2] Martin (I, 425) confirms this, saying that spies sent to the enemy's camp reported that several of the Moors were deserting, and that, unless powerful help came from Golconda, they could not hold out much longer. Langhorn (17 F.S.G., 12, cf. Love, I, 354–5) also attributed the ill-success of the Golconda forces on 9 and 10 March to Baba Sahib's failure to pay his men, and the consequent desertion of the best of them.

[3] It is not true that the English at Madras had agreed to give help to Golconda on demand (cf. *n.* 3 at p. 448 *ante*). Thus in August 1673 Langhorn refused the

some extent appeased the murmurings and discontent now widespread in the army; and, regaining a little courage, they drew nearer the town for a second effort, in a day-to-day hope that help would be forthcoming from Golconda. Everything possible was done to repair the guns of their battery; but these were so well spiked that they could use only two of the smaller ones, and that without much effect as they served merely to protect their trenches. These were re-occupied and fortified again; but they did not trouble to engage in another attack on the town, until help was forthcoming [from Golconda]. So there were only daily skirmishes in many places, and especially on the rivers and roads by which food was brought. We had four or five good companies of lascarins, which ordinarily spent their days in these sorts of fights, returning to the town in the evening to report on their exploits and all that they could learn of the position and plans of the enemy.[1]

Thursday, 9 *March* 1673. A captain of lascarins, a Christian called Manique,[2] and a brave and quite capable man who had already been successful against the enemy in several encounters, determined to make an unusual coup. Having often noticed the carelessness and want of vigour shown by the enemy, who was depressed at his continual losses, he was fired with a desire to gain glory; so one morning he left his company in an advantageous position and went towards the town, resolved like a lion to wipe out all the musketeers of an advanced enemy post. Having come to the foot of the bastions of the Porte Royale, he requested permission to speak to the Viceroy. The latter had, however, gone back to his house, so the town-major, who was on duty on the ramparts, approached the spot where the captain was and asked him what he wanted. He replied from the foot of the wall that, if

king's request to join the Dutch in the siege of St. Thomé (17 F.S.G., 45; 26 F.S.G., 27). Nor do they appear to have supplied any money to Golconda commanders; otherwise why should Baba Sahib have failed to pay his men, as mentioned in the preceding note?

[1] Cf. *n.* 1 at p. 496 *ante*, as to the frequent skirmishes by the lascarins.

[2] The *Journal* (II, 58) calls him Captain Mamèque, and shows he was alive and well on 10 March. It is, therefore, clear that he was not Manuel Gommes, a Portuguese officer, who Martin (I, 428) says had always done his duty in the sorties and was killed in this action of 9 March. A few sentences later Carré calls him 'ce gentil', so he may have been a converted Hindu, in which case his name might be Mānik.

they would only send him a few Frenchmen in support, he could penetrate into the very centre of the enemy's trenches. The major, who knew the courage and resolution of this man, cried out to him that it would be better for him to be content to stay with his company than to rush without consideration into a danger for which he had received no orders. Finally this Hindu was so importunate, and begged so earnestly, that the major, seeing he had a plan, told some Frenchmen, who were not on guard, that if they liked, they could go out on a skirmish at the head of these lascarins. Almost at once about thirty cadets, who were well accustomed to the slaughter of these infidels, rushed to arms like young lions and tigers on their prey, and went to the post where Captain Manique's company awaited them. Reinforced by these brave Frenchmen, the company charged with them so furiously on the advanced enemy guards that the latter were overwhelmed before they could recover themselves. The assailants then pushed their advantage through the whole length of a large trench, and after putting everyone there to the sword, they reached a second trench. Here some resistance was offered, which delayed its capture a little, till it was gained with a terrible slaughter of the enemy who, after sustaining musket-fire, were cut to pieces with sabres, bayonets, halberds, and similar sharp weapons. Astonished and troubled at this little band falling like a thunderbolt upon the two trenches and taking them, the enemy began to waver on all sides; on seeing this the other lascarin companies rushed to join the first one, which finding itself thus reinforced, broke into a third trench. The fight over it was vigorously contested on both sides, the advantage all along being with us.[1]

During this struggle the town-major and some other officers watched the fight from the walls, to observe the result of Captain Manique's enterprise. They were amazed to see our men advancing into the midst of our foes, and the enemy's cavalry and infantry rushing out into the open to repulse our men, so they at once loaded their guns with grape-shot and opened fire from all

[1] Martin (I, 425–6) says the engagement started over some she-asses which had strayed and belonged to the lascarins. Both he and the *Journal* (II, 55) agree, however, that some French troops joined the latter; and Martin states that the struggle between the two sides lasted three or four hours, with varying success to the one or the other, according as reinforcements reached it, so that the fight resembled the movement of sea waves.

the bastions on the enemy, whom they saw two musket-shots away, running madly here and there in disorder, not knowing on which side to escape. As our artillery was directed straight on the trenches which were lined with Moors, this thundering cannonade destroyed thirty or forty at each shot, throwing them into the air or cutting them in pieces. The Viceroy, who was then in his house, holding a Council of War with the senior officers, had not been notified of what was being done outside. They were much astonished at hearing the artillery fire on the land side and rushed out, arms in hand, believing it to be an enemy assault or surprise; but when they reached the bastions, from where they were still firing, they were amazed to see all the enemy in the open, raising dreadful cries and making every effort to resist our men, and the latter advancing like a troop of hungry lions in the midst of their prey.

The Viceroy immediately sounded the assembly, and after putting everyone under arms on the parade ground, he opened the large Porte Royale, which had been shut ever since the town was seized.[1] This was to give a freer passage to these invincible troops, who gleefully and with warlike fury followed their great and incomparable leader. They attacked the Moors on all sides with such extraordinary vigour and skill that their volleys cut large paths through the enemy forces, so that four or five of our companies consequently found themselves engaged against the strongest battalions of the Moors. Our men, recognising their peril, combined together with great presence of mind, so as to form a small square, keeping up continual fire from every side. They thereby wrested the advantage from the enemy, who did not know of this admirable method of battle and allowed their forces to be destroyed by their fire, just as one sees a moth burn its wings on coming too near the flame of a candle. While this compact battalion, surrounded by its foes, was performing deeds that almost surpassed belief, the rest of the French forces were engaged in other parts, where they gained the same advantages as

[1] Martin (I, 426) merely says that de la Haye, who saw from the walls all that was passing, ordered a general attack. The *Journal* (II, 55) states on the contrary that he did this on being informed of these events. Carré's fuller statement is probably correct, except in regard to the troops leaving by the Porte Royale. Both Martin and the *Journal* say they went by the gate of the bastion Colbert; and the former (I, 412) states that the Porte Royale was walled up on 27 January 1673.

those fighting in the midst of the Moor army. The enemy, seeing themselves beaten on every side, gave way and fled; so we suddenly saw a general rout of this powerful army and pursued it as far as its three camps,[1] which it had no wish to leave again, after such a day and the loss of 8,000 men dead, prisoners, and wounded. We too lost some men, but few in comparison with the great number of infidels slain.[2] This was due to the fact that they were not accustomed to our pistols and bayonets at the end of our muskets, used after the shot had been fired, nor to our grenades and other fire-arms. They withstood us, however, with wonderful courage, having only steel weapons such as sabres, lances, and halberds, as well as large knives in their belts. Though they use a musket, they take so long over its loading and aiming that it is quite useless in close combat or in a mêlée, when they fight without order and have not time to be cool or to think of what they should do, such is the dismay and confusion into which they themselves fall through their howls, cries, and clamour. Their army was composed of many castes and religions, Mussulmans, Hindus, Brahmans and Rajats [Rajputs].[3] These last are of the noblest race, and are most in esteem among these nations [*sic*]; they never give way in a fight and regard it as a great honour to die in battle rather than to retreat.[4] They are distinguished from

[1] According to Martin (I, 426), there was such resistance by the enemy, who were still entrenched and firing their muskets effectively, that de la Haye had actually ordered a retirement, when four grenadiers by throwing their grenades into the nearest trench created great disorder among the Moors in it, and he changed the order to one of attack, with the result that three trenches were quickly taken: the fourth was strongly fortified, and de la Haye deemed it prudent to stop the attack. The *Journal* (II, 55–6) also mentions grenades having been thrown into the nearest trench, and the taking of the trenches up to the fourth, where the Viceroy called a halt.

[2] Martin (I, 428) gives the number of Moors killed as 200, and the French losses as 9 killed and 8 or 10 wounded. The *Journal* (II, 56) says the latter were only 1 killed and 27 wounded.

[3] A marginal note says 'The Rajats noble caste of the Hindus'. It seems clear that by the term 'Rajats' Carré means Rajputs. Martin (I, 388) calls them 'the tribe of Rajas who are in esteem among the Hindus', and confirms Carré as to some of them being in the Golconda army. Manucci, though he distinguishes the Rajas of Rajputana from their Rajput subjects (II, 437) also speaks of the latter as 'Rajahs' (III, 65). As 'Rajput' means 'Raja's son', this is an easy transition.

[4] The Rajputs (as opposed to other Hindu soldiers, who are classed as Sudras) are accepted by popular opinion as the modern representatives of the traditional

the other Hindus only by a little silk or cotton cord, which they wear like a shoulder-belt.[1] They are held in such honour among those of their caste that, when passing near them on the road or meeting them in any assembly, the others draw on one side and would not dare even to touch their accoutrements.[2] In their habits and manner of living they have such strange superstitions and peculiarities to which they subject themselves that, if a Christian did the shadow of the like for his religion as these heathens do for their beliefs, he would merit the crown of eternal glory.

At nightfall on this great day the Viceroy rallied all his forces in the midst of the enemy's abandoned trenches, and set fire to everything combustible.[3] He then bethought himself of a stratagem, by which to hold the enemy in suspense all that night and to prevent their return to their trenches. He wished to give his men some rest after such a great triumph, and so at first withdrew all his companies gradually into the town in the darkness of the night. Having stayed to the last with his guards and some workmen, he placed high wooden posts along the trenches with lighted tinders at the top, and a lot of grenades, pine-apples [bombs], and the like, all filled with powder. Each one had a little piece of lighted match [fuse], which on being consumed set these things off from

Kshatriya, or warrior, caste, though some of their clans seem to be descended from warlike tribes from Central Asia, who invaded India in the fifth and sixth centuries A.D. (A. M. T. Jackson, *Bom. Pres. Gaz.*, I, pt. I, 467). Their courage and warlike qualities made them 'bred warriors', who in the seventeenth century were fighting 'in continual action under some state or other' . . . and, when stimulated by opium, had 'a raging resolution to dye or be victorious' (Fryer, II, 106). Tavernier (*Travels*, II, 144–5) and Bernier (39–40) speak similarly of their determination to die rather than run away in battle.

[1] The sacred thread (*janeo*), usually of cotton, is worn, as Carré describes it, like a bandolier over the left shoulder and across the body to the right hip. It is worn by Brahmans, Kshatriyas (including Rajputs), and Vaishyas (traders), and is first put on at the performance of the eighth formal sacrament; this is taken to mark a second birth, after which study of the sacred books may begin (Senart, *Caste in India*, 57). For an almost contemporaneous mention of the thread being worn in the way stated above, see Fryer, II, 39.

[2] This seems to mean that the Rajput soldiers were treated in this deferential manner *by other Hindus*.

[3] Martin (I, 427–8) and the *Journal* (II, 56) say that, before withdrawing his troops, de la Haye started sailors, lascarins, coolies, etc., on destroying the works nearest to the town, and posted detachments at various points to protect them.

time to time, so that the enemy, seeing these fires and the noise of these artificial devices, did not dare to approach, imagining that all the French were lying in ambush in the trenches.[1]

Next day, a little before daybreak, the Viceroy sent some persons along the trenches to see whether the enemy had returned. In a short time they returned to report that they had penetrated into the middle of the entrenchments without finding any sign of the enemy there, except the terrible marks of the preceding day. Without losing any time, the Viceroy landed all the sailors from the ships, and added them and all the workmen and useless townspeople, to the lascarins. He then marched them with an escort of some companies to the trenches, and made them work diligently to demolish and destroy all the enemy's works, machines, and fortifications. While this was being done, he took a walk through the environs and the country-side with his guards and a company of cadets, to see if any of the enemy were about. Their spies had advanced to see what was being done in their trenches, and perceived this large number of workmen swarming there on the highest spots;[2] but, being too far off, they could not distinguish what sort of people they were, or what they were doing. So they at once rushed in a hurry to the Moor camps to report that they had seen all the French forces advancing in great haste, leaping over their fortifications to make a general attack on the Moors. Very little was needed to fill the enemy with terror and dismay, as he was already enfeebled, in disorder, and overwhelmed by his continual losses in fights like the last, so the receipt of this news from their spies, which left the Moors in no doubt that they were going to have a morning greeting similar to that of the preceding day, put them into wild confusion, and far from preparing any defence they thought only of seeking means to escape. If our French had only been warned of this effect, they would certainly have been able to take the enemy's camp, where they would have found riches enough to defray the ex-

[1] According to Martin (I, 428), the Moors during the night made a great noise in their entrenchments: this was afterwards ascertained to be due to their removing their guns from the batteries, which they foresaw they would not be able to hold any longer.

[2] Martin (I, 427) states that the fourth trench had a fortification more than 15 feet high, and was flanked by a pagoda and protecte by a large house near it. This helps to explain the reference to the high spot , men on which would be more visible than those in the trenches at a distan e.

penses and losses incurred during this campaign, as it is the custom of the Moors and other Orientals, on going to war, to carry with them all their belongings and wealth. The Viceroy, however, was so satisfied at having reduced the enemy, that he did not wish for more, thinking it better for the safety of the town to destroy the trenches and fortifications, so as to have no obstacles round the place to prevent his attacking the enemy from any side, should he be daring enough to return.[1]

The defeat of the preceding day was the worst the enemy had yet suffered. Two of their generals, [Trimbak] Bussora and Baba Sahib were severely injured; the latter had two bad wounds in his shoulder and hip, and had also lost the thumb of his right hand. Bussora had four musket wounds, which were almost fatal.[2] Some of their chief captains were also killed, while most of them were wounded and several made prisoners. General Baba Sahib felt the disablement of his right hand more keenly than his other wounds, as it obliged him to eat with his left hand, which for this people is a disgraceful and shameful thing to do. They have a superstition that forbids them to eat their rice, meat, and pilau [meat with boiled rice and spices], except with their right hand for a rather amusing reason, which I will try to describe, though I hardly know how to put it into decent words, as it is necessary to call things by their names to express them properly. They call the right hand the rice-hand, as we might say amongst us the bread-hand, rice being for them the chief food in their repasts, as bread is with us. The left hand is called the dung-hand,

[1] Carré's account is supported by Martin (I, 429–30) and the *Journal* (II, 56–7) as to the Moors being in such a panic that they thought only of flight, and as to all their trenches being taken; but they differ on details. They say the panic was discovered by an enemy attack on the French advance post, which, on reinforcements coming up, was abandoned, and through signs of retreat in the Moor main entrenchment, which was then taken without any resistance by the advance post, the Moors all taking to flight. The French then became somewhat disorderly, and de la Haye, fearing the Moors might rally in their last trenches, came up with troops in support; but the enemy was so terrified that he fled to his camp, leaving all his works in the hands of the French.

[2] Both Martin (I, 430) and the *Journal* (II, 60) mention that on 10 March Baba Sahib had a thumb shot off, the *Journal* saying it was from his right hand. Martin adds that he got off cheaply, as a volley of shots was fired at him; and he may, therefore, have received other wounds, as stated by Carré. Trimbak Bussora was, according to Martin (I, 428), wounded on 9 March by a ball, which pierced his shoulder and inconvenienced him for the rest of his life.

a word of bad odour.[1] The reason is as follows. Their religion obliges them to wash themselves several times a day, or at least their face, hands, feet, and the foulest parts of their bodies, particularly after their natural necessities. They use their right hand only for their faces, while the left one is employed for all the other parts; since the latter does no service but to clean off the excrements and other filth of their bodies, it is considered infamous among them to use the left hand in eating.[2] General Baba Sahib, being obliged to do this after the accident by which he lost the thumb of his right hand, would no longer eat in public.

General Mandala Naik was thus the only one left in a fit state to command. He had more interest than the two others to prolong the war [cf. p. 480], so he proposed that all three generals should occupy the same camp, each having to fortify and guard his quarters, whereby they would be more secure and better able to defend one another from the French ruses and assaults. In a council of war they resolved to do this, and now thought of rescuing their artillery from the place where it had lain since the day the French had blown up their largest piece.[3] They hoped that they might be able to repair the guns sufficiently to guard their camp. The general, knowing that this enterprise needed much care to succeed, sent spies to find out the condition of the French and, if possible, to learn their plans. Meanwhile he prepared elephants and the necessary apparatus to rescue these pieces of artillery. Having learnt that the French were all busily engaged in destroying the works and fortifications of the trenches, a little distance off and out of sight of the battery's position, he left at once, and reached the battery through by-ways and under cover of some woods. He accomplished the affair with so much promptitude and skill that all the pieces were taken away in daylight, without their being perceived by the French till just at the end, when those in the town who were guarding the walls and bastions saw elephants in the country dragging off the apparatus and sent some musketeers to

[1] MS. *parolle, na point de mauvoise odeur*. The context shows that the negative (*ne . . . point*) is an obvious mistake.

[2] For full corroboration of Carré's statements on this subject, see Dubois, 185, 241–2. Marco Polo (*Travels*, Yule, 3rd edn. II, 342) mentions the same custom as prevailing in 'the province of Mabar', i.e. on and near the Coromandel coast (ibid. 332); and the prejudice still exists.

[3] This statement is opposed to that mentioned in *n.* 2 at p. 495 *ante*.

discover what this meant. These men dived into a little mango wood, and met a troop of the enemy, who after helping in the removal of the guns had stayed behind with their general, Mandala Naik. He wished to inspect the state of the place before retiring and approached as far as the little banyan wood, where the governor, de Rebrey, had been wounded some time before. The general here met some of our soldiers, one of whom, seeing him well mounted and richly armed, shot him through the body. The wounded general said something to two of his servants who were with him, and they left him immediately. He tried to turn his horse to escape, but another soldier, seeing this horseman reel and unable to guide his animal, fired a musket-shot into the body of the horse, which, mortally wounded, reared and dashed into a melon garden. The general then dismounted, still staggering from the wound he had received, when M. de la Peaudiere, younger brother of the Chevalier de Maison Neuve, arrived on the spot. He recognised the general from having seen him several times in the fights, and fired a musket-shot, which felled him to earth. The Frenchman then threw himself upon Mandala Naik as a lion on his prey. He snatched the general's sabre from his hand and cut his throat with it. He then returned to St. Thomé and announced the death of this general, by showing his buckler and sword, all garnished with silver and precious stones. Some of our soldiers, hearing the musket-shots in this banyan wood, ran to the spot and came across the dead general. They stripped him and found between his coat and his shirt valuable gold chains, rich rings, and ear-pendants, which they showed to their comrades. These ran to the garden from all sides, arms in hand, hoping to find the other generals [also dead].

Mandala Naik, when he received the first musket-shot, feeling himself mortally wounded, told the two servants who were with him, to get away to the camp: a generosity due to his wish to spare them from the evident peril they incurred by having followed him. The two Moor servants, without losing any time, fled to their camp with the news that they had left their general so badly wounded that he had not the strength to escape. With cries and piteous lamentations they demanded that help should be sent at once to rescue him, assuring everyone that there were only six or seven Frenchmen at the place, to which they had found their way by mere chance. These two poor servants, having spread this news

all over the camp, hardly knew what they were doing. Like men devoid of their senses, they returned without arms, and rushed into the middle of our troops, who arrested them and enquired why they were running about like lunatics. They replied by cries, tears, and piteous lamentations, that they were going to look for their dear master and general, and that they did not fear death, provided their last drop of blood was shed on the body of their lord, no matter in what state he was.

The Viceroy had been exposed all the morning to the intense heat of the sun, hoping by his presence to expedite the work of destroying the enemy's trenches. No sooner had he learnt of the death of the general than he left at once to ascertain the truth of this good news. The two Moor servants were brought before him and he prevented any insult being offered to them. He gave them permission to go into the town and its environs to see whether they could recognise their master among the dead and the prisoners. They were soon assured of the fact of his death by the sight of M. de la Peaudiere, who came before the Viceroy, bringing with him the arms of the dead general. The two servants, having cast their eyes on their master's sword and buckler, recognised them at once. They cried out that their general was indeed dead, as his arms were in the hands of this Frenchman. With loud cries they asked to see his corpse. The Viceroy, accompanied by the principal officers of the place, went personally to see the body. He could not bear to see the ignominy to which the soldiers had reduced the remains of this brave man. He had them enveloped honourably in mourning stuffs; and as a deputation had come from the Moors to demand the general's body, he placed it in a palanquin brought from the town and escorted it himself, with several companies of our bravest French, to the river crossing, which was in full view of the enemy's camp. The Moors came to this place to receive their dead general and give him the funeral honours due to his rank, quality, and religion.[1] The enemy did not

[1] This story of Mandala Naik's death on some day after 10 March and the finding of his body by his two servants, is contradicted by Martin (I, 431–2) and the *Journal* (II, 58–9), whose accounts agree that, shortly after the Moor trenches had been taken, two envoys from Baba Sahib—the *Journal* says they were Brahmans—came with a white flag and asked for the body of the general, who had been killed in the action of 10 March, and (according to the *Journal*) for news whether he was dead or a prisoner. They were taken to see the slain and recognised his corpse among them. Delestre (180) gives a similar account.

know the customs we observe in war on such occasions, and they were much surprised at the salute by three rounds of musket-fire, which the Viceroy ordered to be given on delivering over the body. They afterwards learnt from the English that this was an honour of war paid by the Viceroy to the memory of their dead commander. Thereupon the two other generals sent a message of thanks and their compliments to the Viceroy for this courtesy.[1] General Baba Sahib would not see the body of Mandala Naik after his death, nor even attend his funeral, as the General had been angry with him ever since he had prevented the peace which Baba Sahib wished to negotiate with the Viceroy. Finally the memory of the general was solemnized *cum sonitu* [*sic*] to the sound of thousands of instruments and by the light of an enormous fire lit on a pyre composed of everything combustible. In it they burnt the corpse of this Hindu prince, with four of his wives, who had the courage to throw themselves alive on the flames;[2] the latter consumed their bodies, but sent their souls to other eternal fires, much hotter than those terrestrial ones.

The news of this general's death, of the loss of the large piece of artillery, and of the complete rout of the army, reached Golconda about the same time, and so alarmed the court that they feared the French were going to destroy the rest of the kingdom. The Nawab, who was the cause of their persisting in the siege [pp. 328, 480], was arrested and put in irons. He would have been killed, but for the fear of the power of the Great Mughal; on learning of the detention of this minister, who could give him inside knowledge of affairs in the kingdom, the emperor sent to the King of Golconda to demand his liberation. The Nawab was then [nomi-

Martin states that till then his death was not known to the French. The *Journal* (II, 60) says that he lost his life from being shot in the breast; Martin (I, 430) that he fell from a bullet which went through him, just as he was about to mount his horse, in order to retire, and that an officer then dispatched him. Both accounts further agree that the corpse was honourably treated and sent to Baba Sahib by de la Haye in the manner stated by Carré. Delestre (180–1) says the same, adding that de la Haye forbade his soldiers to remove any of the general's arms or ornaments.

[1] Martin (I, 432–3), the *Journal* (II, 59), and Delestre (180–1), confirm Carré as to this salute and the subsequent thanks to de la Haye. The palanquin was returned on 11 March (*Journal*, II, 61).

[2] On the subject of 'suttee' or widow-burning, see Bernier, 306–14; Dubois, 313–70; Crooke, *Things Indian*, 446 ff; *Hobson-Jobson*, 878–83.

nally] set at liberty, but kept a prisoner in his own house.[1] Besides, as this news spread over the kingdom, a great blow was dealt to the state. The levies raised on all sides, on the pretext of the siege of St. Thomé, but intended to be used only against the enterprises of the Great Mughal, now ceased altogether, as no one could any longer be found brave enough to want to fight against the French.

After these last exploits the enemy, not wishing to face more bombs, left the town in peace, and were satisfied with fortifying a new camp, in which they entrenched themselves, between two mountains at a distance from the town,[2] and to which they were driven back as soon as they hazarded an appearance in the country-side. The English at Madras saw with annoyance and displeasure that the roads on all sides were now open, so that they could not prevent the inhabitants from taking food and provisions to St. Thomé. It soon had a market filled with foodstuffs and munitions; and our officers and men recommenced their visits and ordinary routine at Madras. The English then worked in another way to weaken the St. Thomé forces. They noticed that our men, who went daily to Madras to amuse themselves and to engage in low revels, were always well dressed in their finest clothes, and well armed to guard themselves from ambushes and surprises by Moor marauders, often found on the roads to the town. They, therefore, gave orders to all the officers and tavern-keepers to furnish the French with everything they wanted, but to charge them well. So that our French, having spent all their money, left their clothes and arms in payment, and being thus reduced to dire extremity, often decamped to the Moors, English and Dutch, who had people in Madras vying with one another to induce our men to desert. The runaways had so little judgment or sense that they

[1] The Nawab, Musa Khan, was dismissed from his post on 26 June (O.S.), but had, prior to that, been out of favour at the court of Golconda (26 F.S.G., 22, 23; 6 Mas., 28). According to Ovington's Appendix (already cited, p. 489*n. ante*) the Nawab was dismissed and imprisoned for trying to seize the diwan, Sayyid Muzaffar, and for other things unconnected with the siege of St. Thomé.

[2] According to the *Journal* (II, 62) the Moors abandoned their old camp on 12 March. Martin (I, 431) says that they first retired to a village some 500 to 600 paces off, and that the envoys on 10 March announced that Baba Sahib was going to Poonamallee (Pundamalli), 13 miles west of Madras. Carré, however, evidently means that they encamped at a place nearer St. Thomé, as on p. 509 *post* he says it was three leagues inland, i.e. about seven miles off, which is the distance given by Fryer (I, 115).

yielded to the flatteries of these traitors and enemies of our nation, without remembering that by this cowardice they lost all the glory, honour, and reward, which they should have hoped to receive from their fights with, and splendid victories over, our foes. The English, who were in great need of arms for their garrison, were thus able to fill their magazines with muskets, guns, pistols, bayonets, and similar weapons, taken from our French, who mostly deserted after being despoiled of everything they had.[1] This gave immense pleasure to the English, who foresaw the harm it would cause to our Viceroy's affairs, if help from Europe was not forthcoming shortly.

Our Viceroy, however, was the most active man in the world. He could not live without seeking means to acquire honour and to increase the glory he had already gained by the great exploits of his life. He now found himself left in peace by his enemies' retirement three leagues inland. He received letters from the Rev. Father Ephraim at Madras, full of the new French glory and honour, and the great profit he would gain by taking advantage of a chance to surprise a number of Moor ships, laden with treasure and rich merchandise, which were now in the roads of Masulipatam. The zeal of this Capuchin Father was, no doubt, well-intentioned, and he knew all that was going on in the country; but he did not realise that our Viceroy, from lack of men, munitions, ships, and money, would entirely ruin his affairs, if he undertook this expedition, and that it would not be as successful as he hoped. Besides he had so few men that, if he armed two ships, St. Thomé would, so to speak, be left a prey to the Moors, should they receive help and stage an attack in the Viceroy's absence. It would certainly have been more advantageous to His Majesty's affairs, if the Viceroy had not listened to the counsel of this Capuchin Father. He ought to have stayed in the town, in order to give his men a little rest and to preserve the few remnants of his brave soldiers, instead of throwing himself into a dangerous adventure such as this one. It would assuredly entail war with the Dutch, who

[1] Martin (I, 499) says that French soldiers and sailors were always deserting, and were helped by hostile Englishmen at Madras, such as Jearsey and others, whose vessels had been seized by de la Haye. They had (he says) even given money to men going into Dutch service at Pulicat, while the Dutch had orders from Rijkloff to help those deserting to Golconda, where they got 10 or 12 pagodas a month as pay and great liberty, which attracted them.

were powerful in India and who, as soon as they learnt that he had left St. Thomé with such a small force and that he had only two seaworthy ships, would at once assemble all their forces to attack him, knowing that in his person lay the whole strength of the French in India. Nevertheless none of these important considerations could prevent the Viceroy from this ticklish enterprise, the prejudicial consequences of which will be apparent from its outcome.[1]

The Viceroy had so much faith in the good luck and the assistance from Heaven that had always accompanied his other exploits that he did not doubt that this one would be equally successful; and, having finally decided on it, he was so secret about it that no one knew anything nor had the least suspicion of it, until the day of the expedition's departure.[2] He had to listen to the continual complaints and outcries of the naval officers who represented to him that the four remaining vessels of the fleet would surely perish for lack of gear, a thorough overhaul, and the equipment necessary for their preservation. He sent down master-carpenters and marine officers to inspect them; they reported that two, the *Navarre* and the *Sultane*, were unfit for service, unless they were sent immediately to some port where they could be overhauled and their bottoms repaired. These were worm-eaten, as they had been kept too long in Fort Dauphin.[3] The Viceroy then ordered everything requisite to fit out the two others, the *Breton*

[1] Martin (I, 438) makes similar remarks about de la Haye's plan to take the *Breton* and the *Flamand* to Masulipatam, with the idea of forcing the king of Golconda to make peace. Martin was consulted about it by de la Haye on 31 March, and opposed it on the ground that the Dutch fleet might come in his absence and that of the best part of the garrison, and blockade St. Thomé.

[2] This is confirmed by Martin, who says (I, 443) that de la Haye told him on 9 April he was absolutely determined to go to Masulipatam; and he remained firm in this intention in spite of all Martin's arguments to the contrary. The next morning the Viceroy divulged his plan to de Rebrey, and that same day in the evening he embarked with his retinue from the garrison.

[3] On 11 December 1672 the officers of the *Navarre* represented the bad state of their vessel to de la Haye, but he replied that nothing could be done about it then (Martin, I, 401–2). The decision to dismantle her and the *Sultane* was made during de la Haye's absence at Masulipatam (Martin, I, 489, 492–3; *Journal*, II, 75–6; cf. pp. 519, 526 *post*), and Martin says that the *Navarre* was too lightly condemned. Sir Geoffrey Callender has pointed out to us that copper sheathing as a protection against the ravages of the shipworm (*teredo*) was not adopted till the eighteenth century, and that the repairing (MS. *radouber*) of the two ships' bottoms would probably at most extend to fixing timbers of light scantling over the infected areas.

and the *Flamand*, and had them stocked with provisions, munitions, and everything else needed for a sea voyage, without letting anyone know of his designs.

The two ships, *Breton* and *Flamand*, having been thus equipped and furnished, the Viceroy assembled his council of war and impressed on it the advantage which he hoped to gain in this enterprise. He left St. Thomé in the hands and entire charge of M. de Rebrey, or better still under the protection of God and the glorious apostle St. Thomas. The total force left behind was about 200 French, some companies of lascarins, and a gang of workmen who received orders to work unceasingly at the destruction of the enemy's fortifications and trenches, until they were level with the ground. After this they were to work at three redoubts about half a cannon-shot from the town on the land-side, the plans and lines of which the Viceroy had drawn and traced out before he left.

About the time the Viceroy was leaving on this expedition to Masulipatam, he received some letters from French prisoners at Batavia. They complained that since their arrival they had been very badly treated by the Dutch. This made it necessary to send two French officers, one of the King and the other of the Company, MM. Martin and Descartes, to Pulicat, a Dutch place only a short day's journey from St. Thomé. They were to complain to the Dutch commander of the town as to the bad treatment of our men at Batavia, contrary to the treaty of capitulation and the agreement made by General Rijkloff, who had promised our French every kind of good treatment when he had arrested them and taken them at the island of Ceylon. These two envoys from the Viceroy left St. Thomé on 17 March, and arrived the next day at Pulicat, where they were received with all possible courtesy and honour by Sr. Pavillon, the Dutch commander. After having entertained them for two days, he sent them back very satisfied, with civil replies to our Viceroy, assuring him that he would write about it at once to their General at Batavia.[1]

[1] Martiñ (I, 435–6) gives an account of his mission to Pulicat, in which he was accompanied by des Cartes, a company lieutenant. They left on 18 March and got to Pulicat the next evening. Pavillon came to meet him on 20 March and entertained him courteously. The main purpose of the mission was to see whether an armistice in India could be arranged, but Pavillon replied that this required the orders of his superiors. As a pretext for coming, Martin was to demand the return of the French, who had been taken at Trincomalee; but they had apparently been sent to Batavia.

11 *April* 1673. On the previous day the Viceroy had sent 200 French on board the *Breton*, and three companies of lascarins on board the *Flamand*. At dawn he sounded the assembly and went to the parade-ground to review the remainder of the garrison left in the town. He harangued them on the obedience and performance of their duty expected from them, and said that they were to recognise and render entire submission to M. de Rebrey, the Governor whom he left as their chief.[1] He then embarked in the *Breton*, taking with him his guards, the cadets, and nearly all the officers of the place, in whom he inspired hopes that he was leading them to gain rewards for their recent hard work, so that they all left joyfully. M. Martin, merchant of the Company, late chief of the Masulipatam factory, also sailed with him, so as to be of use, should they be obliged to land at that place.[2] Two days after this departure I arrived at St. Thomé, where I found everything in the state I have just described; but before following the Viceroy on his expedition to Masulipatam, which he hoped would last only a month, I think it proper to make a short review of all that was then passing in the head factory at Surat, in regard to both the King's affairs and those of the Company.

When I left Surat at the end of November 1672, there were, as I have already mentioned [vol. I, p. 146], two director-generals of the Company, MM. Gueston and Baron. They were very irresolute about its affairs, being more inclined to abandon everything than to put the business into a state leading to sound progress. They would, therefore, have remained inert, had they not been forced by important matters, which came before them afterwards, to act firmly and without delay. About the time when M. Caron left in October for France and a small ship was also sent to Surat [p. 459], the Viceroy had dispatched a pattamar, or courier, by land, who fortunately arrived at Surat at the end of December. He brought letters from the Viceroy in which he called on the two directors to fulfil the offers they had made to assist the squadron and His Majesty's affairs with all their power, as St. Thomé was

[1] According to the *Journal* (II, 67) and Martin (I, 443) this review and public announcement took place on 10 April, and the *Journal* (II, 68) says that the two ships sailed at daybreak on 11 April.

[2] The *Journal* (II, 67–8) says that de la Haye took a number of infantry and marine officers with him; but Martin (I, 444) states that the garrison left behind was still considerable.

in urgent need of men, munitions, food, ships, and money. About the same time two of the Company's ships, the *St. François* and a flute, arrived at Surat from Persia with freight and a quantity of goods, after a successful voyage to that country and Basra. M. de l'Estoille, a merchant of the Company in Persia, who had always upheld the honour of our nation and its trade interests with much success, came in one of them.[1] He informed the Surat directors that the Persian king and his ministers were indignant at seeing that our Company traded there with great profit and yet had paid no dues whatever for five years, contrary to the agreement made between that king and the first French traders. They had, therefore, decided to forbid the Company's trade in their kingdom, feeling insulted and dishonoured, as the French had never sent an officer or a Company's merchant to the court of Persia to negotiate matters and carry out their obligation under the articles mentioned in the farmans granted by two Persian kings to the French Company.[2] The two things were of the utmost importance and admitted of no delay. The directors realised that they must work with all possible speed to remedy these two complications. But, by the misfortune which never failed to attend the business at Surat, the two directors held different views: one wished to deal only with the second of these matters; the other desired to find the means to remedy both of them. So that M. Gueston, forgetting his offers in letters to the Viceroy to assist him with all his power, wanted to ignore the King's affair and deal only with those matters which concerned the good of the Company. He, therefore, resolved to send to Persia two vessels, laden with goods for the Company and some rich gifts for the Persian court. He could well have sent M. Despinay, or a Company's merchant, as ambassador to treat in the business. He wished, however, to undertake this voyage himself, without reflecting that not only was he

[1] Kaeppelin (86) confirms these statements as to the arrival of the two vessels from Persia, with M. de l'Étoile, who came to represent the necessity of sending an embassy and presents to the Shah.

[2] The French agency was established in 1664, and a farman for trade in Persia and exemption from customs for three years was obtained from Shah Abbas II, who died in 1666. A second one was then got from his successor; this prescribed no time-limit for the exemption of the French from payment of customs on imports at Bandar Abbas, but (like the first one) was subject to future negotiations by an embassy, which it was expected the French would send to the king (Kaeppelin, 57–8: cf. vol. III, chap. V).

more necessary at Surat, but that he ran great risks of losing his life on this journey, the roughest and most troublesome one in Asia for Europeans. The country is mountainous and the heat terrible from Hormuz to Isfahan, the Persian capital, and even strong and robust men succumb in great numbers.

M. Baron, on his side, resolved to make every effort to equip the King's ship, *St. Jean de Bayonne*, which had been refitted in the Surat river, as well as two other small vessels, one the King's and the other belonging to the Company [*Guillot* and *St. Denis*], for a voyage to St. Thomé, on which he wished to go personally to the help of the Viceroy. He could not, however, carry out this arrangement without breaking entirely with M. Gueston, who opposed it in such a way that M. Baron was obliged to retire to Swally and work there at the lading of the ships with munitions, food, a few men, and even less money. He could only get what was left from the cargoes of the ships bound for Persia. Besides these two plans for Persia and St. Thomé, there was yet a third one, which had hung fire for a long time, and which they now resolved to carry out, namely to send an embassy with rich gifts to the court of the Great Mughal. M. Gueston would have acquired great honour and repute in going on this embassy, which was a very honourable one and much less laborious than that to Persia, where a man of M. Gueston's type and with his delicate health could not hope for any other end than that which actually happened to him. So these two directors each worked for his own enterprise. M. Despinay, who ranked next after the two directors, was selected for the embassy to the Mughal, on which he was to go as soon as the ships had started on their voyages.

These two fleets being finally ready to start, M. Baron set sail first and was two months on his voyage, of which I shall speak in another place [pp. 543–4]. Shortly afterwards, in the beginning of March 1673, M. Gueston also left Surat with the two ships *St. François* and *St. Paul*, and arrived safely at Hormuz, the first port in Persia. He went by road to the court, but was overcome by the fatigue and insupportable heat of this mountain kingdom,[1] and with great difficulty reached the town of Shiraz. He arrived there ill with his son, and at the end of eight days they were

[1] Cf. Hamilton's story (I, 62–3) as to two French gentlemen, who (against the advice of their friends) left Bandar Abbas for Ispahan in July, and on the journey were scorched to death by 'hot dry winds that kill man and beast'.

laid in the same grave in this large town, formerly called Persepolis, queen and the pride of Persia.[1] I shall show afterwards [vol. 3, ch. v] the harm that the death of this great man caused to the Company's affairs.

After all these ships had left Surat, everything was done to prepare for the embassy to the Mughal. M. Despinay, its chief, selected the Company's officers who were to accompany him in the journey to Agra, and everyone prepared his equipage and effects as quickly as possible. Their brocaded coats, banners, sashes, belts, arms, and harness for horses, richly embroidered, made a great sensation in the Surat factory. But when it was a question of leaving, they had to undo all these great preparations, on account of a difficulty which arose and ruined this mission. A passport was necessary from the Governor of Surat for the road journey, and when they went to him to obtain it, he refused to give it, saying he would not permit the French to leave, unless they showed him the gifts they were taking to the Mughal. He hoped by this means to ingratiate himself at court by obliging the French to give more than they had at first intended. M. Despinay, who well knew the tyranny and unjust doings of this Governor, did not ask again for a passport, and resolved to abandon the embassy. He showed such firmness against the Governor that no one troubled much about him afterwards; and when several large Moor merchants sent to the factory to get the Company's passports for their ships, he refused them in the same manner as the Governor had done in regard to the passport for the journey to Agra. Things were in such a state that the Moors and French did all they could to injure one another. The embassy collapsed owing to the death of M. Despinay who was carried off in six hours by apoplexy.[2] The Gover-

[1] Kaeppelin (86–8) generally confirms Carré as to the fitting out of two squadrons, etc., but he wrongly says that Gueston left in the *Vautour*: that ship had gone to France via Bantam (p. 396 *ante*). He also says that Gueston died on the way to Shiraz; but Martin (I, 547) corroborates Carré as to him and his son dying at Shiraz. Traditionally that town rose from the ruins of Persepolis (Fryer, II, 211), but the latter are really 40 miles north-east of it.

[2] Martin(I, 441, 450) also mentions the appointment of de Lespinay to go to Agra with presents on an embassy to the Great Mughal, and the opposition of the Governor of Surat; but he says that the opposition was mainly fabricated by the broker Samson and encouraged by Gueston, who wanted to go himself on this embassy after he had finished that to Persia. Samson's alleged guile is supported by a similar remark in Carré's letter of 22 January 1674 to Colbert,

nor and the Moors, seeing that the French were without chiefs, then inflicted a thousand insults on them, depriving them of all the liberties and privileges accorded to other Europeans, and preventing them from flying their own flag at both Surat and Swally,[1] as the other nations did. They were so oppressed that they were on the point of being driven from Surat and losing all the Company's goods in the factory.

This is what was going on in the head factory of the Company when I arrived at St. Thomé. I was the cause of much joy to the brave Frenchmen still in the town, by the hope I gave them of prompt help from both France and Surat. M. de Rebrey, the Governor, gave me a room in his house, where I stayed some time to await the Viceroy's return. I could not go to look for him, as there was no news of him yet, nor of the place where he could be found.

but Gueston's is opposed to an assertion in the same letter that he had planned to go by land from Persia to France after his mission was over. Martin adds that de Lespinay died of apoplexy a few days after Baron and Gueston had left Surat.

[1] As to Carré's indignant intervention and success in getting the flag restored in December 1673, see vol. 3, ch. iv.

CHAPTER V

THE FRENCH AT ST. THOMÉ AND MASULIPATAM (APRIL—JULY 1673)

Sunday, 16 *April*. In the morning the Governor of St. Thomé, having found me a trusty courier of the country to go by land to Masulipatam, we dispatched him with letters advising the Viceroy of my arrival and all that was going on at St. Thomé.[1] In the evening I went a ride with the Governor to see the trenches which the workmen were unceasingly destroying, and all the principal places which the enemy had intrenched and fortified. Without divine assistance these fortifications certainly could never have been taken, as they had streets and stables to hold seven or eight thousand horses, protected from our artillery, and yet only half a musket-shot away from the town. The walls were so thick and well made that it was a perfect marvel how the enemy, though so numerous, could build such immense works. There were barracks built and roofed as in a town, to house 100,000 men. It would take a long time and a huge amount of work for all the garrison and inhabitants to destroy these works, and the workmen toiled at it without rest from dawn to nightfall.[2] Four or five companies of lascarins kept guard on the outskirts, where they often had skirmishes with Moor scouts approaching to spy out our condition.[3] I was certainly amazed to see how, in spite of the small force left in the place by the Viceroy, the enemy, who had still some 14,000 or 15,000 men concealed in their camp, did not dare to venture on anything important.

The Moor generals and officers frequently went for their com-

[1] On 29 April Martin (I, 461) heard from de la Haye of the Abbé's arrival at St. Thomé.

[2] According to Martin (I, 431), de la Haye declared he had never seen entrenchments so strong and so well flanked. The *Journal* (II, 60) says that their strength, height, and thickness, as well as the great labour involved, surprised connoisseurs: also that their walls of mixed clay and straw were bricked inside. It shows that the work of destroying them went on at any rate up to 6 May (II, 72): but Carré's description of their size seems exaggerated.

[3] Thus the *Journal* (II, 67) mentions a little wood between St. Thomé and Madras, where the Moors often appeared.

modities to Madras, where they very often found themselves with our French in the bazars and public places, as our men went there freely, ignoring the prohibitions of the English. These to excuse themselves to the Moors, gave out that the French were devils, the most courageous nation in the world and the most difficult to govern, so that they always came armed into the town in spite of their orders, and took by force any provisions that were refused them. The Moors did not find it difficult to believe this, as they themselves were often beaten and maltreated by our French soldiers, when they met in the market for the purchase of food.[1] But the real truth is that most of the English and other inhabitants of Madras, driven by their own interests, would have been very put out if the people of St. Thomé had not had this liberty to go to Madras, because they sold them wares and provisions at a much higher price than to anyone else. So the French and Moors often found themselves together in the town without objection on either side, as if they had never been at war with one another.

Friday, 28 *April*. We received letters from both Golconda and Batavia. The first gave news that the levies of soldiers in the kingdom for the siege of St. Thomé had been sent to the relief of the fortress of Chyty. Its governor had revolted and with some nobles and large reinforcements had taken refuge in this place, which is one of the most important in the kingdom on account of its diamond mines.[2] The Batavia letters announced that the Dutch were arming their fleet with all the forces they had in the Indies, in order to blockade St. Thomé and to join the Moor army, which

[1] In March 1673 the Governor of Madras complained to de la Haye of the French soldiers giving trouble there, when inflamed by arrack (17 F.S.G., 15); and Martin (1, 437) admitted that disorder sometimes occurred, among not only the soldiers, but even the officers.

[2] This is probably the hill-fort of Gooty in the Bellary district, which was one of the chief strongholds of the Vijayanagar kings, and was captured by Mir Jumla for Golconda *c.* 1636 (*Imp. Gaz. Ind.*, XII, 327–9: Pharaoh's *Gaz. of S. Ind.*, 103). It was in the neighbourhood of diamond mines, and is indeed mentioned as a place where diamonds used to be found (Tavernier, *Travels*, map in I, where it is called Gutti, and II, 349, 353). The 'ch' in *Chyty* of the MS. may be a guttural, as in the second syllable of Carré's *chouchery* at p. 271 of vol. I. The only other fort near diamond mines, which it might be, appears to be Gandikota in the Cuddapah district: but this is still more removed from the name given by Carré. It cannot have been the fort of Chitaldroog, now in the north of the Mysore state, as this was neither near any diamond mines, nor ever subject to the Golconda state (*Imp. Gaz. Ind.*, X, 290–1, 297).

they were inducing to return.[1] This news was much more important than the other, and the Governor sent a courier at once by land to go without loss of time to Masulipatam to inform the Viceroy of it, so that he might be on his guard. On our side, in order to neglect nothing, we worked day and night to put the place into a state of defence against the arrival and attack of the Dutch fleet. The water-front was provided with everything necessary to give a warm reception to these arrogant and proud enemies, the tyrants of this oriental country. On the bastions we placed fine artillery, which we took from the two ships still in the harbour, the *Sultane* and the *Navarre*. They were disarmed with a view to beach them, as we had no means to refit them [p. 510]. This was a great loss, and it was sad to see these two new ships perish for want of a place to save them.

Saturday, 29 April. About 2,000 of the enemy appeared in the open, marching very slowly as escort to three elephants, and entered a grove of mango-trees, where they had buried some munitions and baggage at the time they were ejected from their trenches. All our lascarin companies were at once ordered to go out to reconnoitre the position and see what the Moors were up to. On seeing our lascarins they sent out a squadron of cavalry, who were given a good reception by our Hindu soldiers. They fought so skilfully that they lured the Moors into the open within half a cannon-shot of the town, whereupon all our bastions opened effective fire on them, and from our ramparts we could see men and horses thrown into the air with such violence that they did not know on which side to escape. They tried to take cover in a large house and some hovels on the south-west of the town, but our men attacked them so valiantly that they never would have reached it, had not a second squadron come up to their assistance. These had some mortars and rockets, and opened a fierce fire on our men to dislodge them from this place. While we were watching the fight from the ramparts and helping them with our artillery, we saw two terrified lascarins, covered with blood, come under the walls. They cried out to us that their captain and half the company were slain, and that we must send immediate help to the rest, who were in great danger, as they had vowed to perish

[1] News of the declaration of war by England and France against Holland had reached Batavia in October 1672 (C.R. Boxer, *Mar. Mirror*, October, 1930, 348; Khan's *Sources, etc.*, 303), so the way was open for this decision.

rather than give way to an enemy they had so often beaten. The Governor at once sent Captain [de] Tivernon with a company of eighty brave Frenchmen, who rushed into the fray like lions. As soon as the enemy saw this advance, they turned tail and fled to their camp, not wishing to feel the weight of our French blows again.

During this fight two other squadrons of cavalry went to block the road by the sea, hoping to surprise some convoys of provisions and some Frenchmen coming back from Madras at ease and unsuspicious of any danger. Two poor women, carrying food, unfortunately fell into their hands. One who resisted was killed with a sabre on the spot; but it was better for her to be thus cut in pieces than to suffer the brutalities inflicted on the other one, who was dragged off forcibly by the Moors. They did not, however, take her very far, for on news of it being brought with loud cries to Madras, all the French, who were there amusing themselves or buying provisions, seized their arms and rushed to the road like raging lions deprived of their cubs. They attacked the horsemen with so much fury that they felled a great number before the troop could recover itself, and dragged the poor woman from the clutches of these tigers. Two of them took her to Madras, while the others faced the two squadrons, which charged on this little band of Frenchmen. Some of them were killed, and the others were likely to perish, as they were fighting on sand, on which they could hardly move or defend themselves against the Moors. All of them being wounded, they were obliged to rush into the sea waist-deep, where they defended themselves valiantly against the horsemen. The latter were finally forced to retire by the arrival of two companies of lascarins from our advance guards, who ran to their assistance and rescued them from the peril in which they were.[1]

That night and the following day we kept a good watch all round the town, and sent spies on all sides to report on the position of the enemy. These no longer appeared, as they were surprised at our resistance that day, which contradicted the expectation

[1] The *Journal* has nothing about all this, but says (II, 69–70) that on 17 April some Moor cavalry, patrolling the road to Madras, seized some poor women whom they took away, and that on 24 April some Moors on the same road had taken a coolie and were about to behead him, when some French troops appeared on the scene and rescued him, after killing several of the enemy.

given them by the English that there was not a sufficient force left in St. Thomé to prevent any operation on their part. They said that the Viceroy had taken all its troops away, which encouraged the enemy to attack more often than they had before, but always with loss, to their shame and confusion, in those efforts. This obliged us to post four corps of guards on the Madras road, and two on the side of the enemy camp, who at the least signal were reinforced from the town in order to facilitate the convoy of provisions and the passage of our men.

Monday, first day of May. The inhabitants and soldiers of the St. Thomé garrison wished to celebrate this day, as is done in many places in France. The previous evening they tore down the tallest palm-trees they could find outside the town, to 'plant the May' before the Viceroy's house, as well as those of the Governor and other officers of the town.[1] They began their ceremonies at midnight, when all the companies were under arms with drums beating. The gunners with all their cannons made so great a noise and kept up such terrible fire for four hours that the sailors on board the two ships in the harbour thought that the enemy had assaulted and taken the town. They were so alarmed that they quickly hoisted their mizzen and stood by to cut their cable to escape into Madras roads. The English there were also awakened by the noise of this ceremony, of which they knew nothing; and they did not doubt but that St. Thomé had at last been taken by the Moors. The latter for their part, far from contemplating this design, were thrown into a great panic by the noise of the cannonades. As soon as it was daylight, both the English and the Moors sent messages to St. Thomé to know the cause of so great an uproar during the night. They were astonished to learn that the French, far from being frightened or suspicious, were engaged in celebrating this fête with the same rejoicings as they would have done in France.

The same day I went to Madras, as I had been invited to a Portuguese wedding, which was celebrated with as much pomp and magnificence as if it was that of some prince or person of high degree. The English Governor was present, with the principal

[1] In France the essential part of the May fête is the planting of the May tree, usually a birch with its first leaves, adorned with festoons, crowns, and garlands, which is planted on the *place*; the merry-makers then dance and sport round it (Larousse, *Grande Enc.*, XXII, 974).

officers of the town and all the garrison companies under arms. After the church ceremony there was a procession round the precincts of Fort St. George, which saluted it with all its guns, with many salvoes of muskets, and similar signs of rejoicing; and all this was in honour of a Portuguese soldier who had hardly enough money to come to this place from Goa. M. Lucq Louis, a sober and rich Portuguese, went to all this expense for his daughter's marriage to this man, simply because he was a Reinol, that is to say from Portugal. I had known him when he was only a private soldier in the fleet at Goa, a few months before. Now, after this marriage, he became one of the most haughty fidalgos in the country, and when he went out to go to church or to take a walk, it seemed as if the streets of Madras were not wide enough for him, so grand and majestic was his bearing. And this fellow, who before had hardly enough with which to support himself, all at once found himself in the land of plenty, with no other occupation but to receive and pay honourable visits, and to lead a life full of the sensual pleasures which so enervate the Portuguese men in this country. There is nothing more odious than the life they lead. Day and night they cannot rest themselves without a dozen mosses, i.e. female slaves employed to massage and knead their bodies, which gradually sends them to sleep.[1]

Thursday, 4 May. At daybreak we saw three ships out at sea, which came from the north and were approaching St. Thomé. The Moors rushed down to the sea from their camp, not doubting but that they were Dutch ships coming to their help. They came down to the shore with cries and acclamations of joy, which resounded over the country-side. They were so delighted that they did not notice that they were getting a little too near our walls. The Governor sounded the assembly, and without exception put everyone who was able to carry a musket, under arms. Our lascarins came out first and fought for two hours with glorious success, being protected by the artillery from our bastions and from the advanced redoubts. These did good work among the

[1] We have not traced the word 'mosses' in French or Portuguese. From the context it appears to be connected with the French *macer* or *masser*, to massage, recorded by a French writer in 1779 (Le Gentil, *Voyage des mers de l'Inde*, I, 128) as the word used by the French colonists in India, and possibly derived from Arabic *māss*, to rub or touch. 'Mosses' may in fact represent Arab. *māsis*, one who touches or rubs, an incorrect active participle for māss.

infidels, who held firm till noon.[1] They then saw the white flags and banners of France in the three ships, which came to anchor under our fort. Thereupon all the Moors quickly retreated and returned sadly to their camp in despair at seeing their wishes and expectations in regard to these ships so upset. They were three vessels that had been sent from Surat to help St. Thomé and were commanded by the director-general, M. Baron.[2] As soon as they had dropped anchor, I went with the Governor of the town on board M. Baron's ship. When he learnt of the Viceroy's absence, he decided not to land, nor disembark anything from the ships, until the latter's return.

I stayed some hours in private conversation with M. Baron, who astonished me by the little help in men and money he had brought.[3] He told me also of the disagreement and strange difficulties which he had had with M. Gueston before his departure from Surat. What, however, surprised me most was that their voyage had been one of the most fortunate ever seen, for it should be realised that the Dutch, who were working for a powerful fleet to attack St. Thomé, had learnt that the French at Surat were equipping these three ships for the relief of St. Thomé, and that they at once sent a fleet of all their available men-of-war to the Malabar coast. These separated into three squadrons, so as not to miss the French ships, which were the only hope of preserving St. Thomé. The latter, which had left Surat with almost half the necessary crews and guns for their armament, were very lucky to find the first Dutch squadron just outside Bombay, where, getting to windward of the Dutch, they entered the Bombay river and anchored under the English fort there. The Dutch followed them and cast anchor out of range of the harbour guns. Two English

[1] The *Journal* gives a different account of the fight, saying (II, 71–2) it started by a French corps-de-garde on the outskirts attacking the Moors, but on its being repulsed, the Governor sent all the lascarins to its assistance; on their arrival the enemy promptly abandoned the post they had seized and retired with the loss of five men.

[2] The *Journal* (II, 72) confirms this, stating that on 4 May the *St. Jean de Bayonne* and the flute *Guillot* (both belonging to the King of France), and the hooker *St. Denis* (belonging to the French Company), arrived at St. Thomé from Surat, with M. Baron on board the first of them.

[3] According to Carré's letter of 22 January 1674 to Colbert, Baron brought only 6,000 écus, in addition to some provisions and munitions, and a crew hardly sufficient to man the three ships.

ships there also put themselves into a state of defence, so that the Dutch, after staying two days at anchor without daring to enter the harbour, where they were being awaited with great eagerness, retired down the coast to waylay our ships *en route* to St. Thomé.[1]

The English President, Mr. Aungier, was, however, a noble-hearted and generous man, who conducted business in quite a different fashion from that of others of his nation. He received M. Baron at Bombay with all possible honour and courtesy, and let him know he was a true and zealous subject of a king allied to the crown of France, so realizing that the aim of M. Baron's voyage was only to bring help to St. Thomé, he showed his generosity in a laudable way worthy of a man of his upright character. He himself told M. Baron that there were many French vagabonds in the service of their Company, whom he had kept out of charity and to prevent them becoming Muhammadans among the Moors, rather than in order to take them from their king's service and that of the French Company, which they had so disgracefully abandoned; and that, as a testimony of his affection and zeal in the service of France, he intended to do a thing worthy of him, though prejudicial to their own Company, as they were very much in need of men to defend their settlements in India at this time of war with the Dutch. Accordingly, just as our ships were setting sail to continue their voyage to St. Thomé, this fine English President called all the Frenchmen in his service and sent them on board M. Baron's ship.

On leaving Bombay our three ships kept along the coast, and meeting the first Dutch squadron again, exchanged broadsides with it, but our vessels, having got away from them at night and out of sight of the enemy, took refuge in the port of Goa.[2] They

[1] According to India Office records, the French ships reached Bombay about (O.S.) 12 February 1673, and were placed under the guns of the Fort, alongside the two English frigates, *Revenge* and *Hunter*. The Dutch squadron of seven sail did not appear till (O.S.) 20 February, and after reconnoitring the island (as it then was) on the two next days and finding the place well defended, sailed away about (O.S.) 23 February (*E.F.*, 1, 61–3). Martin (1, 480) received similar information from a lieutenant on board the *St. Jean de Bayonne*, when he was at Masulipatam.

[2] According to information received at Bombay, the Dutch had 22 ships at Vengurla, from which the seven that went to Bombay had been detached (*E.F.*, 1, 63). Martin (1, 481) gives 30 as the number of Dutch ships cruising along the Malabar coast, in the hope of capturing the three French ships.

were obliged to stay there several days, as they heard the whole Dutch fleet had reunited and were waiting outside to give them a warm greeting and capture them at the first opportunity. During the ships' stay in Goa, M. Baron, well knowing the volatile and irresponsible French nature, prudently gave orders that no one in them was to go on shore. M. Baron was a business man, full of kindliness and courtesy, and the Goa Viceroy treated him in a way quite different from his behaviour towards the French Viceroy. This director gave him no cause for jealousy, so was received with compliments and civility, in the most handsome fashion; and he sent on board presents of wine, fowls, fruit, sweets and other refreshments, which our Viceroy's squadron, when it passed this place, had had to buy for their weight in gold [pp. 398–9].

Finally our three ships left Goa, and with the special assistance of Heaven, managed to avoid the Dutch fleet, which pursued them to the island of Ceylon without overtaking them; and they reached safety at St. Thomé, as I have just shown, on 4 May. Their arrival put everything on a better footing. The garrison was reassured; the enemy lost all hope of being able to undertake any more attacks on the town; and to give a little tit-bit to the English and Portuguese at Madras, I took occasion on a visit there to publish a thing that these two nations, both jealous of our glory, must have heard with great annoyance. They had for at least a month spread the rumour, boastfully as if it was to their advantage, that the three ships sent from Surat to help St. Thomé had been seized by the Dutch. M. Baron, having some packets for the English Governor at Madras from the English President at Bombay, gave them into my hands to deliver them.

Friday, 5 May. I went to Madras in the morning and was received with all sorts of courtesies and civilities by Sir [William] Lanhorn [Langhorn], the English Governor. He kept me nearly all day with him, regaling me with complaints of the worries and annoyances that our French were incessantly causing him. He did not even spare our Viceroy, of whom he complained bitterly on the subject of the vessel [*Ruby*, see p. 449] belonging to Mr. Jearsey, one of the principal English merchants, which he had seized. The Governor also told me that our officers and soldiers came daily to Madras and insulted the Moors and the inhabitants. He tried to persuade me that he much feared the power of the Moors, who threatened continually to pillage Madras, because of

his allowing the French to come from St. Thomé to get provisions.

However, after leaving the Governor and seeing the anxiety of everyone to know what our French ships had brought, I published all over the town by means of some Portuguese ladies, who are the best trumpets to spread any news, that 1,200 French had arrived with a great quantity of money and munitions. I succeeded marvellously, for, as soon as I had left Madras, the great assistance that the French had received was announced everywhere. In the evening, on my return to St. Thomé, a longboat was sent to Masulipatam and a courier was dispatched by land, to give the Viceroy the news of M. Baron's arrival at St. Thomé.[1]

Eight days afterwards a little ketch arrived from Porto Novo, laden with food and munitions, which were hastily put into the storehouse. The ketch had been bought by M. Martin, chief of the Masulipatam factory, for the Company. She was prepared at once to return to Masulipatam,[2] to warn the Viceroy that we were being menaced with the arrival of a powerful Dutch fleet, which was coming to join the Moors for a second siege, and that the latter were feeling confident of being able to take the place, so that his presence was absolutely necessary.

About this time the ship *Sultane*, which had been stripped of all her gear, munitions and crew, was beached. If they had only done what was necessary to strip the large ship, the *Navarre*, also, a quantity of powder, more than 4,000 cannon-balls, many cases of arms, and other provisions which were then of great consequence and much value,[3] would not have been lost afterwards, as I shall show later on [p. 543].

Saturday, 18 [*sic* ? should be 13] *May*. I went to Madras on some business for the town of St. Thomé. I was surprised on my arrival

[1] The *Journal* (II, 72) says that a *chaloupe*, commanded by Lieutenant Herpin, left before 8 May to advise the Viceroy of the arrival of M. Baron. She took letters from the latter, pressing the Viceroy to return, as well as news 'that would surprise him' as to the three ships bringing only a small quantity of rice, meat, and money, in comparison with what he had expected. As to her mishap at the island of Divi, see p. 537 *post*.

[2] She was probably the *Postillon*, a ketch belonging to the French Company, which (Martin, I, 424; *Journal*, II, 72–3) had left St. Thomé on 1 May to go to Pondicherry and Porto Novo, and after her return on 9 May was sent to Masulipatam on 15 May.

[3] Cf. pp. 510, 519 *ante*. It was apparently intended to beach the *Navarre*, as well as the *Sultane*, but the preliminary work of dismasting the former had not been completed before the Dutch fleet appeared on 16 June (*Journal*, II, 75–6).

to see the Capuchin Father Ephraim, who had been sent by the English Governor to find me and pay me a compliment which I found rather impertinent on the part of these two persons. They begged me earnestly, as if I had been a sergeant or a military officer, to send at once and collect all our Frenchmen, who were in the various taverns and middle-class houses in Madras, and to take them without any delay back with me to St. Thomé: for fear (said the Father) that the Governor might be compelled to deliver us all into the hands of a Moor general, who was coming that very day to visit the Governor, and whom he did not dare to refuse anything he wanted. I could not help showing my surprise to the Father that he, a French priest, should have made this proposal, plainly manifesting the bad faith and ill will with which the French were regarded in Madras. I said he could go and tell the English Governor from me, since he was his agent in such commissions, that neither I, nor any of the French now in Madras, had any reason to fear any enemy insults in a town belonging to the allies and friends of the crown of France. I also said I was amazed that the English Governor, knowing that the roads were going to be full of Moor cavalry, should want to make our French leave, in order to have the pleasure of seeing them exposed to the rage and fury of their enemies; consequently, far from doing what he asked of me, I would send all over the town to warn our men not to leave that day, so as to avoid any risks on the road to St. Thomé, and that we would firmly and fearlessly await the results of the good or bad will shown by the Governor towards us. Hardly had this Father left me, when some Frenchmen came to my lodgings, and I ordered them to warn all their comrades in the town not to expose themselves to danger by going back to St. Thomé.

There was, however, no need to warn them, for about ten o'clock the whole country-side began to swarm with horsemen, galloping at full speed towards Madras. They were trying to escape from the hail of cannon-balls, which whistled after them from the St. Thomé bastions: this was also a signal to us that all was not well on the roads. About noon, General Baba Sahib arrived at Madras, with an escort of 1,000 horsemen, and stopped in the suburbs, where he rested until evening to give the English Governor time to make preparations for his reception. As soon as they were encamped, the general wished to send some horsemen to the seashore to harry the St. Thomé road; but they implored

him not to send them on this errand. They pleaded in defence that Madras was full of Frenchmen, who after drinking deeply would leave courageously for St. Thomé with their fire-arms, so that they themselves would be killed like flies, being unprotected from their onslaught with mere sabres and similar weapons, of which the French took no account. They also told their general that only a few days previously [p. 520], because they had stopped two women carrying provisions on the St. Thomé road, a body of Frenchmen had wiped them out in a terrible way; these had left Madras like a troop of lions or tigers from a thick wood, and had charged with such fury that twenty Moors were killed and more than forty wounded, before they could rally. Consequently not only were the roads free, but the French, keeping together and well armed, pervaded the suburbs of Madras, talking and arguing with the Moor cavaliers with as much assurance as if we were not at war with them.

That evening the general entered Fort St. George by torch-light and was received by the English Governor in the most civil way. All the English garrison were under arms; three salutes were fired with muskets, and afterwards by all the artillery in the Fort. Their interview lasted two hours, during which time a continual fanfare was kept up with drums, trumpets, haut-boys, and other musical instruments, as well as with volleys from muskets. The visit was due to letters of complaint from the court at Golconda to General Baba Sahib about his having borrowed a large sum of money from the English, who discounted this against the dues which they had to pay yearly to the King of Golconda.[1] He was also asked to explain his written excuse for the loss of the large gun, which the French had blown up. He had said it was the fault of the English, who had advised them to bring their battery so near to St. Thomé; but the English had also written to the court, and had cleared

[1] As mentioned in *n.* 3 at p. 496 *ante*, this statement is not supported by the India Office records, which show that the first payment of the town rent (1200 pagodas) to a Moor commander was in March 1674, when Langhorn paid it to Chenupalli Mirza, the new commander of the Golconda forces, at his request, instead of to the Nawab of Golconda as usual, and that this was objected to by the court of Golconda (*E.F.*, II, Madras; 17 F.S.G., 37, 39, 49, 59, 70–2; 26 F.S.G., 19, 36, 40). Had there been a previous objection to its payment in this way, it is unlikely that it would have been made to Chenupalli. On the other hand, the fact that Carré's statements agree with what occurred in 1674 suggests that he had authentic information for them.

themselves from this accusation. So the Moor general now came as a suppliant, and gave the Governor a thousand caresses. He told him that he had been sent by the King of Golconda to assure the Governor of his Majesty's protection; and that, on the news that they were at war with Holland, he had received orders to assist the English with all his forces, in case the Dutch tried any hostilities against Madras.[1] Finally this interview, the most civil and agreeable one in the world, terminated with a thousand signs of reciprocal friendship and affection, and with promises to help each other, should the occasion arise.

I passed the following day again at Madras, where some merchants and townsmen offered me a large quantity of wheat and rice, which they would let me have at a very cheap rate. This would be an excellent stroke of business for St. Thomé, and on my return there I told the Governor and M. Baron about it. I said that, in view of the continual threats of the arrival of the Dutch fleet and a second siege, it was necessary to lay in provisions and other things that were easy to transport now, while the roads were open; whereas, once they were shut by another siege, it would be impossible to bring anything into the town, which had only one month's supplies. These gentlemen replied that their hands were tied, and that they could do nothing without the orders of the Viceroy. Moreover, the Governor told me that he had not even enough money in the place to cover one month's pay for the garrison and outside workmen, who were incessantly employed on the fortification works. M. Baron also said that he had to await the return of the Viceroy, before he could dispose of the little money he had brought from Surat in any way whatever. The place seemed really under the protection of Heaven, to judge from the state things were in; for there was not a single house with enough food for fifteen days, and everyone was living simply on what came daily from the market or from Madras, without considering that the enemy was continually near at hand and only

[1] These statements are supported by India Office records (17 F.S.G., 3, 5; 26 F.S.G., 8, 9), showing that in February 1673 Langhorn wrote to the Golconda authorities about the danger to Madras from the Dutch fleet, and asked permission, if necessary, to transfer the Company's goods and the English women and children to some place of safety, such as Poonamallee; also that in March 1673 orders were about to be issued granting this request, forbidding the Dutch from attacking the English at Madras, and directing the local commanders to assist the English, if they were attacked.

awaited reinforcements, or the arrival of the Dutch fleet, to commence a new siege. Seeing this inefficient way of living in St. Thomé, without a stock of provisions, and feeling that I was inconveniencing the Governor, though he had asked me to stay with him, and as M. Baron never left his ship, I resolved to go and live in Madras until the Viceroy's return. I hoped my health would benefit by the change to that place where I could get everything more easily than at St. Thomé. I had not quite recovered from the severe illness that I had had in Bijapur.

Monday, 29 May. I went to Madras and called on the English Governor. He showed me letters he had just received from Masulipatam, which gave him many details of the success of the Viceroy's dealings there with the Moors. Afterwards I informed him that I wished to come to Madras to recuperate, and he had the courtesy to find me a lodging, where I had everything I wanted with every sort of civility.

While the affairs of St. Thomé were in this state, the Dutch made preparations on all sides to achieve the ruin of the French. They had complete knowledge of all that was taking place through their spies and our cowardly deserters, who were going over to them every day. They were so certain of success in this undertaking that they spread a rumour that our Viceroy was already in their hands and would soon be sent in triumph to Batavia. They did not dream that he could escape from them as he was in Masulipatam roads with two ships, which they believed could not resist the powerful fleet they were equipping against him. So as to ensure their success on every side, Sr. Hartsing, their commandant, and some other officers who resided at Golconda, had an audience at their request with the king, who received them very well. They informed him that the French were reduced to the last extremity, having neither men, ships, munitions, nor money, so that they would soon be obliged to give up the town and to surrender at discretion to their enemies, if they were pressed a little longer. They said that the boasted help they expected from Europe was only a visionary fancy to delude the ignorant and those who knew nothing of affairs in Europe. Moreover they promised to place St. Thomé under the king's domination, if he would listen to the proposals they wished to make. Nevertheless it took a long time to persuade the king, who was much inclined to make peace and come to some friendly arrangement with the French, a nation

so terrible and so powerful in war. Finally, however, the Dutch plied him with so many convincing arguments that it was decided not to recall the troops from St. Thomé, but to keep them there, to besiege the place by land when the Dutch fleet arrived by sea. This was on condition that, after the Dutch retook the town, of which they were confident, it would be restored to the rule of the King of Golconda. In return for this the Dutch would have all the French artillery in the town, and exemption from all taxes for ten years throughout the kingdom of Golconda. The Dutch, being thus reassured on this side, had no longer any doubt that they would easily become masters of St. Thomé. They worked at their naval armaments with such confidence in the success of their expedition that they spread advance rumours and gossip all over the Indies that they had captured St. Thomé, entirely ruined the French business, and taken their Viceroy in triumph as a prisoner to Batavia.[1]

This is what the pride, conceit, and power of this nation, which is the lowest and meanest in the world, did to darken the glory and renown of our splendid French arms. It seemed as if its result was only to give them more disgrace and infamy, for God, Who cannot suffer human pride, showed them (as we shall see) by the success of our arms that they were very far from attaining the object they wished. They might well have had some presentiment of this from the failure of their first enterprise, when all their fleet had not been able to capture three wretched merchantmen, only half-armed, though they had met them three or four times during this offensive for which they had been expressly sent from Batavia. But we shall see in due course the advantages they gained in other enterprises, after we have made a little trip to Masulipatam to note what was going on between our Viceroy, the Moors, and the Dutch.

The Viceroy, who (as already mentioned) had left on 11 April on an important expedition, would have succeeded in it, had the ships' course not been so much mistaken as it was. It is an amazing thing, and yet quite usual amongst us, that as soon as our French set out on a sea voyage, they think themselves wiser and more

[1] Carré's statements as to the Dutch diplomatic success are corroborated by a letter in the India Office records (26 F.S.G., 19) from the King of Golconda to Langhorn, dated 29 June 1673: this invites the governor of Madras to arrest de la Haye, should he come thither.

skilful than the most expert pilots in the world, and follow routes as they fancy, by which they ordinarily lose the voyage, or so prolong it that all due advantages and profits disappear. We have had only too much experience of all this in His Majesty's and the Company's ships in the seven or eight years since they have been coming to the East. Of all these voyages one can hardly say that a single ship has had a short and successful one, such as I see made every year in the case of the Portuguese, English, Dutch, and other Europeans, who never fail to do their voyage to India from Europe, and from India to their country, in five or six months at the most.

Our Viceroy, having accordingly passed by Masulipatam with his two ships and a longboat, was no sooner recognised from the coast than the news was sent immediately to Masulipatam, where the merchants had nine ships and some other small vessels in the roadstead, laden with rich merchandise. They were at first alarmed, and did not doubt but that the French were coming to seize their vessels. By day and night they sent all the ships and boats they could find to disembark their merchandise and treasures, which they had time to get ashore, because the Viceroy took four days in regaining Masulipatam. Finally, on arrival, he anchored near Narzapour [Narsapur].[1] He dispatched his longboat with seventy Frenchmen and most of his ship's-boats, well armed, with orders to go into the roadstead and seize all ships and boats found there and to burn those which could not be brought away.[2]

Here was another great mistake, which almost caused the loss

[1] The *Journal* (II, 68) and Martin (I, 443) also mention a longboat (MS. *barque longue*) accompanying the ships *Breton* and *Flamand*. Martin (I, 445–51) says that de la Haye ignored the advice of the ships' officers to keep near the coast so as to recognise Masulipatam and (thinking he knew better than they did) took a course which brought the ships on 14 April some twelve leagues (30 miles) north of Masulipatam: consequently they did not reach the neighbourhood of that roadstead till the evening of the 19th. Meanwhile the Moors had had time to unlade several vessels that had returned from Tenasserim with rich cargoes (ibid. 452). See also Bowrey, p. 67, as to the ships arriving 50 miles 'to leeward' of Masulipatam from 'want of able pilots'.

[2] Martin (I, 448–9) corroborates Carré by stating that the Viceroy sent the longboat and two others to seize Moor ships in the Masulipatam roadstead, with orders to burn any they could not take away, and that they left while the *Breton* and *Flamand* were near Narsapur; but the latter place is about forty miles from Masulipatam, and the two ships eventually anchored within some four leagues (10 miles) of Masulipatam (ibid. 451).

and the ruin of all these poor men sent to a place without any knowledge of the state of the roadstead, the river-mouth, the currents, sandbanks, or other dangerous spots. This longboat and most of the others were sent into this place without anyone aware of the correct course to be followed, so that our people, though not knowing where they were going, bravely entered Masulipatam roads. There they seized a small Portuguese ship and two boats, which they found under sail, and brought them to anchor near the Viceroy's vessel. Our sailors, working in ignorance of the dangerous currents in the roadstead, tried in vain to reach the other Moor ships; then, their food being exhausted, they were reduced to great extremity, as they could not regain the open sea, nor any of their own ships. The longboat was the first to run on a rock with its seventy men, who managed to get to land in a miserable condition. Fortunately they were wrecked behind the garden of our factory where there were still two Frenchmen [p. 483]. They received a few of these poor naked creatures, who had escaped there, as others had done before them, with the loss of their boat in trying to land in search of food. The rest of the men in the longboat had an astonishing adventure. They were nearly all officers, who managed to land with their arms and went in despair along the seashore, resolved to sell their lives dearly to the first Moors by whom they were attacked, as they fully expected to be. Advancing all together towards the town of Masulipatam, or rather without knowing whither they were going, they came to a point on the Masulipatam river, where by chance they found the boat of a Persian ship. They took it by force, and embarking in it found themselves at once in the roads. Here they mastered eight merchant ships without any resistance, as they had been nearly all abandoned at the news of the arrival of the French.[1]

The Viceroy, who knew nothing of what was going on, was very impatient at the non-return of either his longboat or the

[1] Martin's account (I, 450–1) differs and, being based on what M. Malfosse told him, is probably more correct. According to this, the boat was wrecked in the night, while sailing along the coast, and the crew saved themselves, some with their arms, but everything else in the boat was lost. By a fortunate chance they met a servant of the French factory, who recognised them as French, and took them to the spot where the factors had camped the year before. There they seized a boat and mastered vessels in the roads, with the help of the two other boats, as mentioned by Carré in the next paragraph.

others. He had only two ship's-boats of the *Breton* and the *Flamand* left, so he armed these the next day and risked them again by sending them into the roadstead. Taking advantage of a favourable tide, they succeeded in seizing some Moor ships; but they were much surprised to find on board one of them some of the crew of the longboat, who told them of their disaster of the preceding day. They mutually consoled with one another, and after having visited and pillaged all these Moor ships, they set fire to four, which had neither sails nor gear for their removal, and then prepared to bring the other four away.[1] However, M. Malfosse, the Company's agent, who was in the factory with another Frenchman, had no information regarding the Viceroy's enterprise except what he learnt from the people who had taken refuge with him the day before. He had good reason to believe it unwise for him to stay any longer in the factory, and was, therefore, obliged to think of leaving. He saw from his house that our French in the roads were preparing to take away the Moor ships under sail, and he quickly thought out a way to reach them. There were then two French travellers in Masulipatam, MM. Peron and Jeunnet, private traders who were doing fairly well.[2] They had been there some time, and had had a small boat made for river trips and visits to ships in the roadstead. M. Malfosse, having sent to ask them for their boat, took all his effects and the French sailors saved from the wreck, and brought them into the roadstead, where they embarked in the Persian ship of the merchant, Myrdoubachy [Mir Abdullah Baqir].[3] She sailed with the four Moor boats to within half a day's journey of the Viceroy's vessels, which were anchored at Golepalan [Gollapālem].[4]

[1] Martin (I, 451) agrees that eight ships were taken, and four burnt, but says one of the latter was quite new, another had no rigging, and each of the two others was a sort of ketch.

[2] Martin (I, 335, 354, 359) also mentions MM. Peron and Junet as French merchants at Masulipatam and Narsapur.

[3] Mir Abdullah Baqir was a former Governor of Masulipatam, and was said to have built the two bridges there (*S.M.*, I, 84; II, 159*n*). Martin (I, 451–2) calls him 'Miller Doulbaquir'.

[4] This place is called 'Gullupollam' by Streynsham Master, who says it was about half-way between Masulipatam and Madapollam, and gives its distance from Masulipatam as 22½ miles (*S.M.*, II, 159). It probably corresponds to Martin's 'Gondepolam', six leagues from Masulipatam, where he says (I, 449) the two ships anchored on 16 April. Martin (I, 452) corroborates Carré as to Malfosse coming to them in one of the boats.

Another boat in which the Viceroy had placed some of his guards and twenty-six brave Frenchmen, was dispatched on the same undertaking. After beating about the open sea for four days without any food and provisions, they were obliged to approach land. They left their boat at anchor with a guard of four sailors, while all the others landed to look for provisions, carrying arms in case the Moors refused help. The Masulipatam Governor was at once advised by the natives of this French landing, and he sent a large number of Moors to seize them; but they did not dare attack the Frenchmen, who were well armed and resolved on defending themselves, as they knew only too well that their own arms were not equal to those of the French. They, therefore, contented themselves with assembling in great numbers in order to prevent the boat from coming near the land and the men from re-embarking in it. They hoped to oblige the French to surrender, and gave orders that they were not to be received anywhere and should be refused all food. But our people, now desperate, found a boat on the river and, like their comrades of the longboat, seized it by force, in spite of resistance by the enemy. For four days they kept this vessel: some remained on board, while the rest went on shore to get provisions and food for the return journey. This they did, with the help of MM. Perron and Jeunnet, who hid them in a house they had outside the town. They also advanced some money and everything else necessary to set them up again.[1]

The Governor of Madapolan [Madapollam], on hearing of this, was so enraged against these two Frenchmen that he arrested M. Jeunnet, who was the richer of the two, and kept him in irons for seventeen days. He was finally released on payment of a large sum of money.[2] The four sailors, who had been abandoned in the boat, found themselves without food and without help. They were compelled by hunger to run their boat on shore, where it was smashed to pieces. The Governor of Madapollam, on hearing of this, ordered the massacre of these miserable men, one of whom escaped from the clutches of death with many wounds, but was

[1] Martin (I, 454) corroborates the main part of this story, saying that the men, numbering 27, reached the river (Godaveri) near Narsapur.

[2] This is confirmed by Martin (I, 459, 470); but he rightly says it was the Governor of Narsapur (to whom its suburb Madapollam was subordinate) who arrested M. Junet, and gives as the reason for it the forcible seizure by the Frenchmen of a boat to take them back to the ships, with Junet's connivance and against the Governor's orders.

afterwards taken prisoner by the Moors, loaded with irons, and sent to the fort of Agimaudron.[1]

After the merchants' ships and boats had thus been either burnt or taken from the roads, there was such a panic in the town of Masulipatam that everyone thought only of immediate escape inland, whither all the merchants retired with their goods and treasures. The Dutch, who had here a very rich factory, filled with merchandise and goods, could not transport them quickly enough to a house they had in the country. They, therefore, fortified their factory and resolved to stand fast there, if the French were to land. The Governor of the town had more interest in this rout than anyone else. Seeing all trade at an end and the town deserted, he sent a civil letter to the Viceroy, with very advantageous offers. He requested the Viceroy to send some one to treat with him, assuring him that not only would he be in perfect safety, but would be received with all the honour and civility that could be wished. The Viceroy immediately sent M. Malfosse on shore with a civil letter in reply, which was very well received. As the affair was important, the Governor asked the Viceroy to send M. Martin, because he was the chief of the factory here, and being well known and esteemed by the heads of the town, they would have more confidence in him so as to negotiate a favourable arrangement.[2] At the same time the Governor and the heads of the place sent dispatches to the court of Golconda, urging the need to make peace with the French, unless they wanted to lose and ruin all trade on this coast, which brought in the largest revenue of the kingdom. While awaiting a reply from the court, the Governor asked the Viceroy for a truce and cessation of hostilities for twelve days, to which he readily agreed.

Nevertheless the Moors, in addition to their usual suspicion and bad faith, resolved to prevent our people from landing, under instigation by the Dutch, who made them very advantageous offers. They also employed the time of the truce to put everything into a state of defence. They raised 4,000 lascarins, to guard the river

[1] Martin (1, 459–60) also confirms this story, but says the four sailors had been left as guards in a boat captured by the *Flamand* and were killed by the Governor's men in the English factory at Madapollam, where they had sought refuge. Bowrey (67) says he witnessed 'that bloody fact, begged their heads and bodies off the Governour, and took care for their buriall'.

[2] Martin (1, 453) corroborates most of these statements.

and the seashore, the Dutch undertaking to pay these men weekly, as well as to send engineers to build a fort on a point of land which would guard the river's mouth. In this they placed some pieces of artillery[1] to prevent the entry and landing of our craft. And, in order to protect themselves thoroughly, they besieged the French factory, to which M. Martin had returned with some other French officers on the prayers and entreaties of the Governor. Neither, therefore, could our people land, nor could those in the town give any help whatever to our ships.[2] While things were in this state, the longboat commanded by M. Herpin, which had left St. Thomé on 6 May to bring the news to the Viceroy of the arrival of the three Surat vessels with the director Baron [p. 526], mistook another river for that of Masulipatam, and went ashore on the island of Divi,[3] where it was captured by the Moor Governor, and all the French were closely imprisoned. Their letters, which the Moors could not understand, were sent to Masulipatam to the French in our factory, who sent them to the Viceroy. However, as these men had been taken and arrested during the truce, the Governor of Masulipatam promised to have them set free as soon as he received the expected replies from the court.[4]

Some rich Persian merchants, then at Masulipatam, wishing to show their zeal and affection for the French, assembled and decided to agitate with the Governor for some favourable arrangement with the French. They showed their generosity and goodwill in an episode, which furnished them with an occasion to use their interest and authority on our behalf. The Viceroy, who was very annoyed at receiving no news of what was occurring on

[1] Martin (1, 453–6) says that by about 23 April 1,500 troops, including over 200 Persian cavalry and 20 Dutch soldiers under a sergeant, had arrived in the town; also that two batteries had been raised, one at the entrance of the harbour-bar, and another inside the port; that a mud fort, strengthened by trunks of palm-trees, had been erected; and that the Dutch were defraying part of the expenses.

[2] According to Martin (1, 462–8) the Governor put him and the Frenchmen with him under inconvenient surveillance, intercepted his letters to de la Haye, and for some time refused to allow him to send provisions, etc., to the two ships. On the night of 4–5 May an attempt was made under his orders by the kotwal to enter the factory without success; but otherwise it was not besieged.

[3] Divi island was 16 miles to the south of Masulipatam, at the mouth of the R. Kistna, and is now joined to the mainland.

[4] These statements agree with Martin's account of the affair (1, 468–71), except that the only letter which neither the Moors nor the Dutch could understand, was one in cypher (ibid. 470).

land, nor from the officers in the Company's factory, risked a boat to take M. Duplaissis [Duplessis], a naval officer, ashore to find out any news. He had hardly set foot on land with some other Frenchmen before he was surrounded by a large number of soldiers and the populace, who would have massacred them, had they not been prevented by the arrival of a troop of Persians. These men, who were smart and well armed,[1] cut their way through the angry crowd and made a circle round the French. By words and authority they dispersed the multitude and, with our men in their centre, conducted them to their own quarter of the town, assuring them that they were in complete safety among a nation of friends, full of zeal and affection for the French.

Thereupon the Governor was incited by the envy and rage of the Dutch, who informed him that it was an affront to himself that these Persian merchants, who were foreigners, had been bold enough to undertake such an action in the interest of an enemy nation. He now considered himself offended and instantly sent complaints to those merchants for their having given protection to the most cruel enemy that ever had been seen in this kingdom. He ordered them, if they wished to appease his wrath and resentment, to give up these tigers, avid for human blood, who seemed to have been reared only on alarms, carnage and battles. However, those courageous Persians did not trouble themselves about the Governor's threats or anger, incited (as they knew) only by the jealousy of the Dutch, who were making every effort against us. They sent a reply that they were resolved not to desert these brave Frenchmen, members of the noblest and grandest nation on earth, so as to expose them to the mad jealousy of the Dutch, who had nothing to recommend them but the little wealth they had amassed by widespread tyranny and unjust usurpations that had made them opprobrious and the enemies of all decent persons. Finally the Governor, who was a politic man, felt he could not insult this body of rich and powerful merchants, from fear of the consequences, as they brought great wealth to the king's coffers. Changing his tone, he sent to assure them with all possible suavity that the French would not be insulted or ill treated, and begged that they should be handed over to him, so that he could treat with them for some accommodation of the dispute.

[1] Martin (I, 466) says that by 7 May there were 600 Persian cavalry in the town, who were well made, well dressed, and of a resolute appearance.

The Persians, after this civility, could hardly refuse the Governor's request, but they did not wish to send away our French without a special assurance that they would not be insulted. This made them accompany the French officers in a body to the house of the Governor, and they were also present at the meeting and discussion held there with the Governor. The latter intently examined M. Duplaissis who was a tall, burly man with an agreeable and jovial air of well-being. 'What!' he cried. 'Is this man really from St. Thomé? There is truly a great difference between him and those whom the Dutch daily describe to us; they continually chant in our ears that the French at St. Thomé have become miserable creatures, so starved for want of food as to be almost skeletons, yet I notice that all the French who come here from their Viceroy's ships are fatter than the Dutch themselves, and very much better dressed, while the money they spend plainly shows that they are not so badly off, as the Dutch would wish us to believe.' The Persians were overjoyed to hear the Governor speak in this way. They gave him an admirable description of the nobility and other fine qualities of the French nation, saying that it was superior to all the others in Europe. They so disparaged the Dutch that from this day the Governor began to have his eyes opened. He recognised that he had been duped by the Dutch, who in their dealings have regard only to their own interests, and are so proud and haughty that every kind of people finds them intolerable. From that time the Governor had a great distrust of them, and did not listen to them, as he did before. Consequently, those good Persians returned from the interview with the Governor, delighted with the success of their efforts to serve our French, who were given full liberty in the town, and led in triumph to the Company's factory.[1] Our officers there had also the same freedom and could send food and refreshments to our ships.[2]

The Dutch, seeing their mine sprung, and all their designs upset, now thought of their safety, and removed all the rich goods

[1] This incident concerning M. Duplessis does not appear in Martin's *Mémoires*: but (I, 432, 467) he described the Persian merchant, Mir Abdullah Baqir, as a 'great friend of our nation' and 'our ordinary refuge', and Persian merchants at Masulipatam are likely to have helped the French, as related by Carré.

[2] According to Martin (I, 468, 469), even after the Governor had given this permission on 8 May, there were several set-backs, e.g. on the 10th he refused to allow casks of water to be sent to de la Haye.

and merchandise in their factory far inland, where they withdrew also in view of the failure of their ruses and stratagems.[1] Finally the replies from Golconda reached the Governor, together with a royal farman, which was very beneficial to French trade at Masulipatam and all over the kingdom. The Governor was given full powers to negotiate and conclude an arrangement with the French, but on condition that they sent a handsome present to the court of Golconda, with a person of some quality and weight to compliment the king. And certainly it was amazing that the French, since their establishment in this kingdom, where they did much trade—as well as in Persia and at the Mughal's court—had never sent any person of standing to these courts, where every day one could see the ambassadors of the English, Dutch, Danes, and other European nations, laden with presents and spending money in the most lavish way. Considering the state of St. Thomé and the small success of the Viceroy's expedition, it seems to me that we could not have expected a more favourable reply from Golconda than that received by the Governor. Thereupon he summoned all the principal men of the town, and invited all the Frenchmen in our factory, to his house, where he explained the advantages of the king's message to him to finish the whole business.

M. Martin, who was in charge of our affairs, replied to the Governor with compliments and politeness, and without losing any time took a boat to the Viceroy's ship where he told him all that had happened,[2] and of the splendid opening it offered for an honourable end to all the business. The Viceroy, however,

[1] The departure of the Dutch may also have been due to the Viceroy's two ships coming right up to the Masulipatam roads on 8 May, which Martin says (I, 466) made the Moor and Hindu merchants remove all their valuables from the town.

[2] Martin (I, 469–70, 472–5) says that, on the Governor informing him on 10 May that he had been authorised to treat with the French, he referred the matter to de la Haye for orders. The latter replied on the 14th, but gave him no specific directions for the conduct of negotiations. The next day he had an interview with the Governor, and received the King's farman from him with the usual ceremonies. Its main effect was to complain of the conduct of the French, but it gave express hopes of a cession of St. Thomé and its dependencies after a present had been received. The Governor then made exorbitant demands for over 100,000 écus to be given. Martin promised to take the orders of the Viceroy, and being discontented with the mere general instructions de la Haye had given him to conclude the matter on his own discretion, left that same day to consult him.

would not listen to any suggestion of presents. M. Martin tried to represent to him the impossibility of concluding anything with Eastern rulers without gifts, as they worked only for self-interest. The whole affair was on the point of being wrecked in sight of port because the Viceroy, the most mistrustful of men, suspected that M. Martin was working more in the interests of the Governor than from a pure desire to effect an arrangement; he flew into a rage with him, abused him bitterly, and refused to allow him to take further part in any affairs. M. Martin was so vexed that he fell into a languid state which has since prevented him from enjoying three consecutive days of health.[1]

However, the matter required finishing in one way or another. There was no more food or water in the Viceroy's ships; the best part of his men were lost or scattered on every side, and others were prisoners of the Moors; so the Viceroy's affairs were in a somewhat embarrassed state, as he was also short of money and thus unable to do things in a suitable manner. This did not prevent him from sending an answer to the Governor that he was very satisfied with the kind replies received from the court, and that as soon as possible he would dispatch one of his gentlemen to compliment the King of Golconda.[2] He earnestly begged the Governor to furnish him with food and boats from Masulipatam to revictual his ships, so that he might leave as soon as possible. That officer had a personal interest in hastening the French ships from the roadstead, in order to re-establish trade, which had been completely interrupted. He agreed to send food and refreshments in several boats, which were employed day and night in taking water, wood, and other necessaries, to the ships. We were thus furnished with every sort of provisions in a very few days.[3] The

[1] Martin had an uncomfortable interview with the Viceroy, who blamed him for not having finished the business and refused to give any presents to obtain the cession of St. Thomé. At his direction, however, Martin had another interview with the Governor on 17 May, but in the circumstances this was as ineffectual as the previous one. On the 18th he told de la Haye that nothing could be done without a substantial present to the court at Golconda, but the Viceroy said he would go to no expense and used words of contempt towards Martin. Vexation at this treatment brought on an illness, which lasted for five or six months (Martin 1, 475–80). As to de la Haye's stupid mistrust of Martin, cf. Delort, *loc. cit.*, 466–7, and Kaeppelin, 106.

[2] Martin (1, 479) mentions the decision to send an envoy to Golconda.

[3] Martin (1, 484) says that during the last days of May several boats were sent by the Governor with provisions, wood, and water.

Viceroy then put M. de Chasteauper [Châteaupers], a gentleman from Orleans, ashore at Masulipatam to go to the court at Golconda. He was hardly given enough for the journey, nor any proper suite or equipage with which to appear there. The Viceroy sent only a gun and a pair of French pistols as presents to the king; and he ordered the envoy, when he presented these gifts, to tell His Majesty that, as the French Viceroy was a soldier, he had no more suitable and valuable offering to make than these arms.[1]

As soon as his envoy had started for Golconda, the Viceroy set sail and left Masulipatam roads with his two ships, the *Breton* and the *Flamand*, and the four Moor vessels which he manned with French officers and sailors.[2] We shall see the rest of the [ill-] success of this voyage and of the embassy to Golconda, after we have shown what was going on at St. Thomé, where we were all very anxious at the absence of the Viceroy, since from the news and warnings we received on all sides we could soon expect a powerful Dutch fleet before the place.[3]

At the beginning of June we saw the arrival of two Portuguese ships in Madras roads. They were laden with rich merchandise from China, Manilla, and Achin, whence they had come; and the English Governor of Madras had a large interest in them. Being an intriguing and careful man he did very well in his appointment, in which an intelligent person like himself could make a large fortune in a short time, as the finest trade in the East passed through his hands.[4] At the same time we had the news that our Viceroy had left Masulipatam on the 1 June with all his prizes.[2] Neverthe-

[1] M. de Châteaupers landed at Masulipatam on 23 May to go to Golconda, taking with him only the presents for the king mentioned by Carré, a light gold chain for his minister Sayyid Muzaffar, and 500 écus for the expenses of his journey (Martin, I, 482).

[2] According to Martin (I, 451–2, 481, 484), the date the two ships left Masulipatam was 31 May, and only two of the Moor ships seized there accompanied them as prizes, the other two having been given back to their owners, Mir Abdullah Baqir and a merchant at Porto Novo.

[3] In May news had been received at St. Thomé that the Dutch had 20 vessels at Ceylon, ready to go to the Coromandel coast to join the Moors in its siege (*Journal*, II, 74; Martin, I, 483).

[4] Sir William Langhorn undoubtedly had a considerable private trade, but its extent is not shown by India Office records, and he himself maintained it had added little to his private fortune (*E.F.*, II, Madras, 1676; O.C. 4215, *f.* 18). That he was well off is shown by his ability to buy an estate in Kent and endow a school and alms-house after his return to England (Love, I, 399).

less up to 15 June we heard nothing of him, which troubled us greatly, as every day we expected to see the Dutch fleet in our roadstead. Our Governor and the principal officers of the town, therefore, began to think of furnishing everything necessary for the defence of the place; and the most prudent among them seriously considered the stocking of food and provisions for some months, in view of the news we daily had of the coming of the Dutch.

Friday, 16 *June*. At daybreak we saw six large vessels in full sail coming towards St. Thomé. At nine o'clock they were near enough to be recognised as Dutch from the ensigns on the poop and prow. Three of them carried the flags of the admiral, vice-admiral, and rear-admiral. On seeing this fleet bearing down upon them, our four ships, the *Navarre*, the *St. Jean de Bayonne*, and the two little hookers [*Guillot* and *St. Denis*] weighed anchor, and without setting sail—the wind being in their favour—let themselves drift into five fathoms of water, but within musket-shot of our bastions.[1] The *Navarre* had already been dismantled and was to be beached, so she was run on shore, and her four eighteen-pounder guns were brought into action, as they were still on board.[2] The Governor of the town posted all the garrison in the requisite places, so as not to be surprised by the Moors on the land-side. He then went with all his gunners to the side facing the sea. The six Dutch ships had come up in good order within cannon-shot; they then furled their big sails and, when broadside to our ships,[3] opened fire with all their artillery at about ten o'clock.

The arrival of these ships aroused much excitement all over the place. Moors, Hindus, and other natives, ran to the shore, which for a full league's length was crowded with over 200,000 souls, as

[1] The *Journal* (II, 75) corroborates Carré as to the six Dutch ships coming on 16 June, but says the *Navarre* and other vessels were moved to five fathoms of water the previous day on news arriving of the approach of 16 Dutch men-of-war along the coast.

[2] The *Journal* (II, 75–6) says the *Navarre* was being dismasted when the six ships appeared, and was run ashore at 4 p.m.; it does not mention her guns being fired against the Dutch, but this is likely to be true, as Carré was on the spot, and the *Journal* (II, 77) speaks of her 18- and 24-pounders being removed next day to a battery on the edge of the sea.

[3] MS. *le travers nos navires*. Sir Geoffrey Callender has pointed out to us that 'le travers' denotes, in regard to ships, their being 'broadside to broadside', whereas in regard to a ship's position to a port, it means 'athwart' (cf. Dr. Burney's edn. of Falconer's *Marine Dictionary*, *s.v.* 'travers').

they all wished to see the Dutch fleet in action. The fight was opened by the Dutch ships. Our first cannon-shot in reply from the St. Louis bastion brought down the vice-admiral's flag on the poop, and it was blown out to sea. On seeing this first effort from our bastions, the large crowd of people on the shore raised such a loud cry of joy that it sounded all over the country-side. But this was only the prelude of what followed, when we saw the Dutch sailors leaping into the sea and pieces of their ships flying in the air, so that it was easy to see that the artillery on the enemy's ships was not proof against ours at St. Thomé.[1] Finally, after three hours of this game, the six Dutch ships withdrew a bit out to sea, without one of them having dared to come nearer our ships than cannon-range. This plainly showed the thousands of onlookers that all the display was pure ostentation; and, on seeing the Dutch retreat, they all offered up prayers for the French, whom they highly extolled, while showering curses on the Dutch.

The latter, with the wind abaft, cruised about the Madras roads within cannon-shot of Fort St. George, where the English were prepared to reply to any attack.[2] The Dutch, as if ashamed at the ill-success of their first fight, then returned with all sails set to St. Thomé. We thought they were going to board our ships and endeavour to seize or burn them; but they were again so well received by our ships and the town that, after a second fight of two hours, they were obliged to retire, as on the first occasion, to their loss and shame. We lost only two men killed, and eight wounded, in our ships in these two encounters, but in the town five gunners perished miserably while engaged on the bastions, through an accident from a spark, which blew up a barrel of gunpowder in the midst of these unfortunate men.[3]

[1] A Fort St. George con. of 7 July 1673 (M.R., 1672–8, 14–5) mentions the Dutch rear-admiral having suffered so much damage that all her guns had been taken out, and she was ready to be sunk out at sea; also another ship having been damaged, but 'patched [up] for the present'.

[2] India Office records (17 F.S.G., 22) confirm this statement: the Dutch ships came and anchored in the Madras roads within range of the Fort guns, but these, though ready, did not fire, Langhorn considering that the Dutch intention was to provoke him to begin hostilities and thus give them a pretext to attack the Fort.

[3] This seems to be the first full description of the collision between the Dutch and French ships at St. Thomé on 16 June. Only brief accounts of the fight are given in the *Journal* (II, 75–6) and by Martin (I, 492). The latter, who speaks on

Hardly had the second fight been finished, when we saw another squadron of eight Dutch ships out at sea, approaching the St. Thomé roads. We awaited their arrival with the same eagerness that we had shown for their first vessels; but these were more cautious than the others. They contented themselves with hoisting their flags and anchored well out of cannon-shot.[1] The first squadron, which had received such a check in these two fights, and which was still under sail, went and anchored in the Madras roads within range of the Fort batteries, but no shots were fired on either side.[2] On anchoring, the Dutch admiral hoisted a little white flag on the poop. The English read this as a signal of peace, and a sign that the Dutch wished to parley with them, so the Governor at once sent a boat with two officers to her. That day I could get no details about this visit, as it was a political secret between the Dutch and English, but I did not fail to learn about it afterwards.

Next day, 17 *June*, under the pretext of a visit to the English Governor to enquire if he had any news of our Viceroy and vessels at Masulipatam, I managed to turn the conversation to the Dutch arrival. I asked him what was the subject of the *pourparlers* he had had with the Dutch the day before, when he sent a boat and officers to them. He replied in a way that plainly showed me it was a secret which it would not be so easy to extract from him as from other people I knew. 'It is true', said the Governor to me, 'that I was mistaken about the white flag flown yesterday by the Dutch in the roads. I thought they wished to parley, which obliged me to send a boat with two officers. They were, however, very badly received by the Dutch and informed that the white flag was a signal to assemble their council, and that they were on this coast

hearsay as he was with de la Haye on the *Breton*, merely says there was an exchange of cannonades between the six Dutch ships and the three French ones in the roadstead, as well from the sea-bastions. He puts the French loss at 10 killed and several wounded, while on the Dutch side two ships suffered damage and some men were killed. The *Journal* only says that the six Dutch vessels, after cannonading the French ships, put about and went to join the other ten Dutch vessels out of cannon-range. The India Office records (17 F.S.G., 22) also merely speak of an exchange of shots between the Dutch and French ships at St. Thomé.

[1] The *Journal* (II, 75–6) and Martin (I, 492) corroborate Carré by saying that the other ships arrived after the first six, and anchored well out of cannon-range.

[2] That the first six anchored near Madras is supported by the *Journal* (II, 76), which says that on 17 June they moved to an anchorage near their flag-ship, their first one having been too far north (i.e. towards Madras).

solely to pursue their enemies—especially the French, whom they had resolved to exterminate and drive out of all India.' This discomfiture of the English was so piquant that I could not resist saying I had remarked that not a single boat from the other Dutch ships had gone to the flagship during that time; also that I had been assured that the two English officers had been very well received, as they gave information about the absence of our Viceroy and the state of St. Thomé. I assured him that we were calm and without anxiety, and that, in spite of the efforts and the jealousy of others, we should shortly welcome our Viceroy at St. Thomé, to enjoy the fruits of his victories. The English Governor, like ourselves, had had no news of the Viceroy since his departure from Masulipatam. He suspected that he had disembarked at some place on the coast, and was coming to St Thomé by land. I was not sorry that he held this belief, for, being in connivance with our enemies, he could tell them nothing certain on the subject.

The six Dutch ships, which had stayed all night in the Madras roads, sent two boats to Pulicat with the body of the flag-captain to the vice-admiral and those of some other officers, who had been killed in the fight against St. Thomé on the previous day. There they received the honours of burial due to their rank, merit, and fine actions, in the Dutch church, with great salutes from their garrison. At dawn the six ships weighed anchor in Madras roads and came back to St. Thomé, where they moored opposite it with the other squadron. Nothing was done that day against the town, but General Rijkloff, the commander-in-chief of the Dutch fleet, sent a ship's-boat ashore about a league above St. Thomé, to disembark some of his officers for a visit to the camp of the Moors. They were to complain of the latter not having come the previous day with all their forces to besiege St. Thomé from the land-side, when the Dutch fleet arrived there. To this General Baba Sahib sent a reply that he had received letters from Masulipatam, which directed him to do nothing against the French until he received fresh orders from Golconda, as several French gentlemen had gone there as envoys to treat for some arrangement with the king, his master.[1] The Dutch, having no response ready, stayed in our roads and held councils-of-war two or three times a day regarding their future plans against the French.

[1] M. de Châteaupers had a suite with him (Martin, I, 482), and this probably included some other Frenchmen

M. Baron, who had not set foot on land since his arrival, and had disembarked nothing but some munitions of war, braved the perils of the fights with the Dutch in the ship *Bayonnais*. He showed such great firmness and bravery that the whole ship's company, seeing him give his orders and act like a man of courage on the quarter-deck, one and all tried to follow his example with martial zeal and cheerfulness. M. Baron, however, did not doubt but that the first efforts of the enemy would be to burn our ships, so he decided to land and discharge all that was of any consequence from the three vessels as quickly as possible into the magazines of the town, as being more secure.[1] It was a great loss to have beached the *Navarre* so hurriedly, as she could have remained afloat long enough to save more than 6,000 écus' worth of provisions and munitions of war, which had been put in her hold as ballast by the foresight of the late M. de Turelle, before his departure from France. This was certainly due mainly to the fault of the officers of the *Navarre*, who after it had long been decided to beach the ship, neglected to disembark the principal stores. They simply contented themselves with landing the provisions they required, such as wine, oil, brandy, and the like,[2] without troubling to put under cover much more important things, like whole cases of muskets, guns, pistols, powder, bullets, rigging, cables, tar, and other naval necessaries. There was then no more hope of saving them, for the ship was full of water and half buried in the sand, as soon as she was beached; and they even risked losing the four iron 18-pounders, which were still on her lower deck.

Sunday, 18 *June*. General Rijkloff sent a ship's-boat into Madras roads, to order three Portuguese ships anchored there to leave in three days; otherwise he threatened to burn them, as he did not wish them to stay in any place belonging to the English, who were his enemies.[3] This so alarmed the Portuguese and Hindu traders in Madras that they left the place, hastily taking their belongings and

[1] Martin (I, 492) and the *Journal* (II, 76) confirm Carré's statement that M. Baron remained on board the *St. Jean de Bayonne* during the fight, but came ashore next day.

[2] The *Journal* confirms this by saying that the ship's commander, who did not want to entrust anything to the clerk of the King's storehouse, sent the vessel's victuals to a private store-house and to his own house.

[3] This is corroborated by India Office records (17 F.S.G., 22–3), saying that the Dutch fleet interfered with shipping in the roads and compelled three ships to leave, though they were waiting for goods to be laden on them.

merchandise inland with them. The English fortified themselves as well as they could, especially on the sea-front, where they placed three batteries, each of ten guns, twelve and eighteen-pounders.[1] They also obliged all the townspeople to keep guard every night, from fear of a surprise attack by the Dutch. There was indeed reason for anxiety, as the place was not easily defended. The town is inhabited by English and Portuguese, of which the first are paramount. There is a garrison of three or four companies of English and black Portuguese, with some lascarins, in all hardly 200 men, of which only 60 are English.[2] The last are the only ones who would offer any resistance, as all the others, especially the Portuguese, are mere peace-time soldiers, who engage in a military career only to get the wherewithal to lead a wretched, low, and cowardly life. Their Fort, called St. George, is in the middle of the town,[3] and serves as a storehouse for merchandise and valuable things belonging to their Company. The Governor lives there with the officers of his Council; the others live in the town, which has no defences except on the sea-front, where there are four ramparts, with about fifty six- and eight-pounder guns.[4] On the land-side there are only some weak low walls, washed on the west by a river, which can be forded in several places.[5] Besides this, there is yet a second town, or rather a large suburb of fine large and wide streets, inhabited by Hindus, Moors, and other

[1] A Fort St. George con. of 4 July 1673 (M.R., 14) says that, in view of the arrival of the Dutch fleet, the Governor and Council had repaired and strengthened the points of the Fort, and raised new batteries.

[2] This is a clear under-statement. A return of January 1673 (O.C. 3765, reproduced by Love, I, 373–5) shows the English garrison as then mainly consisting of four companies, each of 60 men including five officers, making with some gunners a total complement of 255. In addition there were 163 Portuguese topasses, as well as some 550 lascarins (O.C. 3855, *f.* 2), making the total garrison over 950 men.

[3] Carré means that the Fort lay in the middle of the 'White' or 'Christian' town, as opposed to the 'Black' town (now called George Town), where the Indian inhabitants lived.

[4] Dr. Fryer (I, 104), who arrived at Madras in August 1673 (N.S.), similarly says that 41 guns were placed at four separate places facing the sea, viz. (1 and 2) the two extreme points of the wall (3), at each side of the water-gate, and (4) on a 'half-moon' near the sea-gate.

[5] This agrees with Fryer (I, 104), who mentions walls on the south and north sides, and says that on the west 'runs no wall but what the inhabitants compile for their gardens and houses planted all along the river' [the Elambore]: cf. Love, I, 282.

different castes and natives of the country, as well as some Portuguese. Between the town and this suburb there is a large open space, which serves as a bazar for the sale of all sorts of provisions and supplies.[1] This place is bounded on the east by the sea and on the west by a custom-house and a Court of Justice called the Chaudry, where there are some English officers who have to serve a three years' term.[2] All the Moor, Hindu, and foreign traders, artisans, sailors, and workmen, live in this suburb. Each section has its own quarters and streets, and in the centre is a magnificent pagoda or Hindu church, called Virena's pagoda[3]—he is the richest and most powerful Brahman merchant in the country.

There is a fine Christian church in the town served by the Fathers Ephraim and Zenon, French Capuchins, who founded this church about thirty-five years ago. Since then they have done wonderful work for the glory and propagation of our holy religion, and it seems as if God had especially wished that His name should be glorified and our Church exalted in this heathen land by the efforts of these two good priests. They were sent out from France by their Superiors some thirty-six years ago to preach the Gospel in Pegu. Father Ephraim there met a worthy Portuguese called Joan Peraire [João Pereira], a native of India, who implored the Father with prayers and supplications to come with him to Madras, where he lived. He acceded to this request and the two arrived in Madras about the same time that the English began their settlement there. They had only just laid the foundation of their Fort, and nothing indicated the two great towns we see here

[1] Fryer (I, 107, reproduced by Love, I, 284) makes a similar statement as to 'White Town' and 'Black Town' being separated by 'a wide Parrade', used as a bazar or market-place.

[2] The 'Choultry' or 'Chowtery' (from Telegu *chavadi*, a hall or shed) contained a Court of small causes, a custom-house, and a registration office; it was situated at the end of the bazar, near the Choultry Gate to the Fort (Love, I, 127). In 1671 Langhorn appointed two members of his Council as Choultry Justices, and they were replaced in 1674 by two other members (*E.F.*, II, Madras). This agrees with Carré's statement as to a three years' term, though this rule was not strictly observed later on.

[3] This was the temple built by Beri Timmana, the English Company's first chief merchant, and shown as the 'great Pagoda' in Pitt's map of Madras. It is also referred to by Fryer (I, 108). It was managed by the Company's chief merchants till 1696 (Love, I, 570–1); and as Kasi Viranna was the chief merchant in 1673, having succeeded Timanna on his death in 1669 (*E.F.*, 1668–9, 141*n*), it may have borne his name, as mentioned by Carré.

today.[1] This good Portuguese, with some other Christians, both Portuguese and Hindu, being overjoyed at having in their midst such a virtuous and exemplary priest, whose doctrine extremely perturbed the numerous Portuguese priests in these parts, showed him every attention, in order to make him stay a year. More he could not promise, not being allowed to engage himself for a longer period, because his mission obliged him to preach the Gospel in other countries, if ordered. But at the end of the year he found himself so well established in this church, which had been built for him, that all the Christians would not release so fine a pastor, who increased the fold of Jesus Christ in quite a marvellous way. Seeing his large flock and the impossibility of abandoning this good work and ministry under God, he wrote to his companion, Father Zenon, whom he had left in another place in India to come and work here with him to the glory of God.[2]

These two good priests, now re-united and animated by the same zeal and love for our Church, were the admiration of all neighbouring people. But, as Jesus Christ foretold to His apostles, when He sent them out to preach the Gospel, they encountered trials, thorns, persecutions, and afflictions, in the wild countries to which they went as missionaries: so these two holy men endured all the things promised by our Saviour to those who work for Him with sincere and zealous hearts. But let us see from whom they received these afflictions and persecutions? Was it from the Hindus? From the heathens? From the Muhammadans and natives of the country? No, no. These people had too much veneration for the virtue of, and the marvels done by, these good priests. But

[1] Father Ephraim de Nevers had been sent from France for mission work at Pegu, and reached Surat in 1641. Thence he travelled overland to Masulipatam, but being unable to get a ship there to take him to Pegu, he came to Madras. While waiting for a ship, he ministered to the Catholic settlers there, Fort St. George having been founded in 1639. Its Portuguese inhabitants, including João Pereira, in June 1642 petitioned the Agent and Council to retain him; and this was arranged. The Catholic church was then built by the Father in White Town close to the Fort (Love, I, 47–9; Tavernier, *Travels*, I, 176–7; Manucci, III, 469, IV, 31–2; *Madras Tercentenary Commemoration Volume*, 375–6).

[2] Father Zenon had accompanied Father Ephraim from France to Surat, where he remained for some ten years; but, on hearing of the latter's arrest in 1649 he came to Goa, with a view to helping him, and thence went to Madras *c.* 1650 (Love, I, 104; Manucci, IV, 457).

from whom, then? *A falsis fratribus*, from those false brethren, of whom the apostle [St. Paul, 2 Cor. xi. 26] spoke: those who cannot bear to see virtue, brilliance, and good actions, which they cannot imitate. They wear a cloak of hypocrisy by which they stifle the glory and charitable deeds of worthy people. St. Thomé, which is only half a league from Madras, then belonged to the Portuguese, and had a great many priests and ecclesiastics. These were stupid men raised in unbelievable ignorance of all the bright light of our Holy Schools. They were mostly engaged in occupations and employments far removed from the duties and obligations of their ministry. These people could not bear the renown of our good priests for virtue and doctrine. They determined to drive them from the country, and in order to succeed in this they began the persecution of the Portuguese and native Christians, who helped and supported these two apostles. The Madras Christians were vexed with excommunications, menaces, and many other inquisitions and unjust proceedings, to prevent them from attending church services which the Fathers celebrated with so much edification and success.

Finally, seeing that these stratagems were not efficacious, force was tried, and Father Ephraim, the head of the mission, was kidnapped. He was imprisoned for some months in the town of St. Thomé, and was then sent in a passing ship to the Inquisition at Goa, where he was detained two whole years in close confinement. He was even refused devotional books to read, and all this because the worthy priest had one day inveighed with truth against the ignorance, abuses, and abominations, of those Portuguese Indians.[1] Therefore it is not surprising that God (Who never allows such injustice and wickedness to go unpunished) soon afterwards permitted the Moors to drive out these infamous Portuguese from this lovely town of St. Thomé and the surrounding districts. By this just punishment they lost all the riches and immense revenue drawn from these places.

At last the good priest returned gloriously after such persecution, which only made him ever more zealous than before, as gold is purified by fire. He resumed his work with a humility for which he was admired more than ever, and also weathered other storms with a holy calm. The last of these fell upon him a few years ago, during the reign of the English Governor who preceded the one

[1] See vol. I, pp. 210–11*n*.

in office for the last two years.[1] This was on the subject of the holy Bishop of Heliopolis, who had arrived in Madras *en route* to his mission in Siam and China.[2] He stayed some days with these Capuchin Fathers at the prayer of all the local Christians, who wished to receive the Sacrament of Confirmation at the hands of this holy prelate. However, some English officers, enemies of the Sacraments of our Church, poured their venom into the ears of Sir [Edward] Ointer [Winter], the English Governor, who pretended to be very offended and shocked that a Roman Bishop should dare to celebrate the ceremonies of his office in a town where the English were all-powerful. He ordered the expulsion of the Bishop and the two priests, and threatened to exterminate all Christians who dared to celebrate any ceremonies of our Church, both then or for the future. The good Bishop, full of zeal and charity for these poor Christians who followed him with tears in their eyes and did not wish to abandon him, withdrew to a village outside the town. There they erected an altar in the house of a converted Hindu, and the Bishop finished the good work which those enemies of our religion had tried to prevent.[3]

A veritable judgment of heaven then fell upon the heads of these Lutheran heretics. The English had some ships in the roads, ready to start on their voyage to England. Three English officers, who had incited the Governor to this violent act against our Church, were sent on board with his last orders. On their returning to land, they were all three drowned in the surf, in full view of the townspeople, who gave vent to exclamations of joy at this just punishment sent by God to men that had dared to attack His Church.[4]

[1] Foxcroft was really the Governor who preceded Langhorn, but the one referred to by Carré is Sir Edward Winter, who was governor from 1662 to June 1665 and usurped the government from September 1665 to August 1668.

[2] The Bishop of Heliopolis was at Madras on his way to Siam in 1663, and again on his way home from Siam in 1665 (*E.F.*, 1661–4, 270; 1665–7, 127).

[3] The two Fathers, Ephraim and Zenon, were expelled from Madras by Winter in 1663–4, but readmitted (Love, I, 221; *E.F.*, 1661–4, 378–9). In 1666, after his usurpation, he again expelled them (Love, I, 249; *E.F.*, 1665–7, 249).

[4] We have not traced any mention of such an incident in the India Office records; nor do any of the Company's ships appear to have come to Madras during Winter's rebellion till the *Loyal Merchant* and the *Rainbow* arrived on 20 August 1668, whereupon Winter surrendered the government to Foxcroft (*E.F.*, 1668–9, 127, 131–6). His chief supporters were Captain Francis Chuseman and Rev. Simon Smythes, both of whom sailed for England on the *Loyal Merchant* in January 1669 (ibid. 157, 158).

Our holy Bishop of Heliopolis departed for Siam, and the two Capuchin Fathers returned to their church and were left in peace, as this Governor was dispossessed and sent away on the arrival of the present one.[1] The latter had received much help from these two Fathers in the war and the plots at Madras to bring about this change of Governors.[2] He gave them full liberty to perform their offices and pastoral functions in the same way as a parish priest in France; so that these two good pastors sing Mass every Sunday and Feast-day with great solemnity, music, and general edification. They have three schools of different sorts of Christians whom they teach there with fruitful results, viz. Portuguese, Hindus, and Malabars.[3] They also administer all the fortunes of Christian orphans, which they put out at ten per cent. interest until they are of an age to be married or given some employment.[4] They are so clever and active in all the local affairs that the merchants ask their advice in their most important business and trade. Above all they serve the English marvellously well, and enjoy their confidence, on account of the entire devotion they give to their interests. That is the only thing I have against them, and I had a few words with these priests about their putting the interests of the English above those of their own nation. To this

[1] There is some confusion here, as Carré refers to the Bishop leaving for Siam, which was in 1663 or early in 1664, when the two Capuchins were re-admitted, before Winter's rebellion in 1665 and his surrender in 1668. On the Bishop's return from Siam, he appears to have left Madras in January 1666 on his way home by way of Surat and Aleppo, and (though the two Padres were under banishment) to have been on friendly terms with Winter and his Council, as they entrusted him with a letter for the Company (*E.F.*, 1665–7, 127). The Company in a dispatch received by Foxcroft in June 1669 authorised him to permit the return of the two Padres (*E.F.*, 1668–9, 282); but they had probably been allowed to come back earlier, though in November 1668 they were still at St. Thomé (*E.F.*, 1668–9, 149). The resumption of the government by Foxcroft was nearly two years before Langhorn's arrival in 1670, and the latter did not become Governor till January 1672 (*E.F.*, II, Madras).

[2] It was Foxcroft, not Langhorn, who received this help, e.g. by their forwarding letters from him to his friends at Masulipatam (Love, I, 249*n*; *E.F.*, 1665–7, 226). By the 'war' Carré probably means the second Dutch war of 1664–7.

[3] 'Malabars' here means Tamils, whom the Portuguese had called by that name, because their language resembled that on the Malabar coast (*Hobson-Jobson*, 541; Love, I, 33*n*).

[4] Thus in 1689 an 'Orphans' Fund' was transferred to the French Padres, and later on they maintained a Roman Catholic Orphanage (Love, I, 548; II, 338).

the good Father Ephraim always replied that he was obliged to serve the English interests above those of any other nation because of the protection and privileges they enjoyed in Madras, where the English were lords and masters.

I was then living in Madras, and every day I sent all sorts of food and provisions to our French at St. Thomé. Realising that they were on the verge of a blockade, when they would no longer be able to get anything from outside, they sent me people day and night for these supplies. The English Governor was vexed at this, and the Capuchin Fathers, as agents of the English, warned me that he considered it very wrong of me to send daily and nightly convoys of all the provisions and stores of the place. I replied that the Governor need not be annoyed at what I was doing, because the English and the inhabitants of Madras were enriching themselves by selling grain and all sorts of things to the French at double the rate at which they bought them from the country people; also that, being our ally, he ought not to object to our French laying in provisions while the roads were a bit more open, as they were just then, seeing that we had enemies, by both sea and land, who were on the verge of closing all passages.

General Rijkloff was a little surprised at the reply from the Moor camp [p. 546]. He was rather embarrassed at its tenor, as he was off St. Thomé, but did not wish to undertake anything without the help of the Moors, well judging that he could do nothing except with their assistance. He divided his fleet into three squadrons, which he posted at the approaches to the roadstead, in order to prevent any vessel bringing food or munitions to the town. He also felt certain that our Viceroy would make every effort to enter the place. He could not imagine it possible for the latter to escape or resist such a powerful fleet, which was expecting a reinforcement of six or seven ships from Batavia. So, relying on the proposed capture of this great man, who was the mainspring of St. Thomé's resistance, they stayed in our roads to await the result of their long watch, which we shall see later.

Nevertheless the Dutch dispatched a courier by land to the court of Golconda, to give notice of the arrival of their fleet before St. Thomé. They intimated that they had not yet attempted to take it by assault, because they wished first of all to seize the French Viceroy, who was expected back from his Masulipatam expedition, and that, as soon as they had sent him as a prisoner to

Batavia, they would make themselves masters of the town, which could not stand a siege or assault, being denuded of people, food, and munitions. The Dutch courier arrived at Golconda at the same time as the envoy whom our Viceroy had sent from Masulipatam. This put all our affairs on an insecure footing with the irresolute king, and was the reason why the negotiations of our envoy did not have the success we hoped.

M. de Chasteaupert [Châteaupers], on arrival at Golconda, was presented to the king, who received him with honour; he also accepted the present and the compliments of the Viceroy, with which he expressed himself well satisfied. He presented the envoy with a vest, a turban, and a valuable embroidered scarf; but then the time came to go into the affair thoroughly, and the king saw the proposals and requests of our Viceroy. Besides the town of St. Thomé he demanded several villages and the surrounding country, which brought in great revenues. The king assembled his council, and it was decided not to settle anything with the French envoy, until they saw the result of the fine promises made by the Dutch. So the only thing brought back by our envoy out of all these negotiations was a farman of the king, assuring our Company of the right to trade in Masulipatam, with an order that our envoy was to be escorted straight back to that town. That was all that our envoy's negotiations effected at the court of Golconda.[1]

Meanwhile, the Moors encamped before St. Thomé, seeing the Dutch fleet still in the roadstead awaiting more ships, supposed they would soon receive orders and help from Golconda for the continuation of the war. They, therefore, began to bestir themselves again and make forays on the roads and passages round St. Thomé, in order to surprise our people and the food convoys, which were daily being sent. This obliged us, when going to Madras, to be well armed and provided with a good escort for defence against such games of the enemy, so that gory encounters recommenced.

Monday, 19 *June*. In the morning some twenty of our Frenchmen from St. Thomé, who had come to Madras to buy provisions,

[1] Martin (I, 500, 502) gives a similar account of the failure of the mission to Golconda. Carré also reported to Colbert that the only thing obtained was an advantageous farman for French trade at Masulipatam, and that the envoy had to return to that place without anything being settled about the French occupation of St. Thomé (Kaeppelin, 109).

went to see me in my lodging, where they generally transacted all their business. The Madras Governor, warned of their arrival, sent an officer to ask me to go to him on some matter, so, while our French were getting their provisions, I went to the Fort to see the Governor. After some civil conversation, he told me that the Moor generals had sent him a message threatening to come and pillage Madras with all their army, if he continued to permit anything to be sold or taken away from Madras for the French; and he said he could not allow the passage of any more food convoys, as formerly. I replied politely to this Englishman that, as we were friends and allies, I could not believe he would wish to do anything against our nation; and if he considered it wrong that I should give visible help to my compatriots, I would send food only at night. I also told him that there were some French officers and soldiers in the town who had come especially to buy food, and I begged him to let them pass this time as soon as they had finished their purchases—a request to which he very civilly consented. I hurried back to my lodging, intending to send all these Frenchmen back at once, as I feared that some of them, after spending all their money, might desert, as they sometimes did.

But hardly had I left the Governor before some other Englishmen came to see him. These were very ill-disposed towards our nation, and loudly complained that the French were taking away all wares and provisions from the bazars, that they jeered at his prohibitions, and that, arms in hand, they threatened any one who tried to control prices in the sale of goods. You must understand that near the retail market the English have a Court of Justice [i.e. the Choultry], where there are always two judges from morning till night to settle the quarrels and disturbances that ordinarily happen in such places. These two important personages usually had only country-folk on whom to exert their authority, like the village judges in France. They wished to extend their authority to our Frenchmen, by trying to oblige them to buy goods at a higher price than that paid by the local people. This gave daily rise to a thousand little annoyances, which obliged these judgelets to go today to clamour and incite the Governor to show his displeasure against our French. The Governor took this as a point of honour in the belief that his authority and power had been slighted. He therefore sent a garrison-company, armed with match-locks, under an officer to the bazar, to seize all provisions that the French

had bought. Happily most of these had been already taken to my lodging where the buyers awaited the arrival of their companions. The English soldiers, therefore, found in the market only some six or seven of our men, from whom they took all their purchases. They at first made no resistance, but ran quickly to my lodging to find their comrades, in order that they might all go together to attack the English and make them relinquish their food and provisions.

I foresaw the evil that would follow, knowing that these brave Frenchmen would allow themselves to be cut in pieces rather than not avenge the insults they had suffered. I therefore locked the door of my lodging so as to detain them all, and put their arms in a place where they could not get at them without my consent; I thus prevented them from going out until I learnt the result of the affair, in the hope that it might be remedied without trouble or commotion. By this I embarrassed the Governor much more than if I had allowed our people to go and take their provisions back by force, as the English wanted nothing better than to see our French make a great disturbance which would give them a good occasion to refuse us everything. The supplies, which were in charge of thirty coolies (the local carriers), had been pillaged by the company of English soldiers, who took some of them to the Choultry and the rest to the Fort. Thereupon the petty English judges, in order to show off their power and authority over the mob, went themselves into the market, to arrange the resale of the provisions in the way they wished, as there was now no one who dared to gainsay them. I heard all that had occurred from two Indian servants, who worked for me as spies, if I wished so to employ them.

The Governor meanwhile was astonished that I had not been to see him about this affair, as it created a great uproar throughout Madras, where not a single Frenchman was to be seen because of my having kept them all in my lodging. He, therefore, sent three officers of his council, with a secretary to take down in writing an account of what had been bought by our French, so that (as the officers told me) they might be reimbursed the amount they had spent on the provisions which they had not been allowed to remove. All the Frenchmen in my lodging were less concerned about their expenses than about their food; and seeing that it was intended to send them back as empty as they had come, they

at first flew into a passion and wished to raise a quarrel with the English. I had some trouble in stopping this, and making them see reason. Finally they all agreed to let me act alone in this matter, which I promised to finish in a way that would fully satisfy them. I then entered a private room with these three English officers, and made a memorandum and account of all the provisions bought by the French, including all that I had in my lodging, as well as those sent to the Fort, some of which had been pillaged and resold. I said I wished to have prompt payment of the whole amount, so as to send back all these Frenchmen at once; and that, in default of this, I intended to protest to the Governor against the injustice and tryanny shown to our nation in his not being satisfied with making us pay three times the value of these wretched wares, but also wanting to confiscate them, after having extracted the money for them by his petty judges and policemen.

The English officers, who had never thought that the affair would take this turn, told me they would go to see the Governor and consult with him about it. When they returned to the Fort, they found themselves much more embarrassed than they had ever imagined possible, so that they wished they had never undertaken it. In the first place, there was a large sum to be disbursed; secondly, there was left on their hands a great quantity of provisions which they did not want, and which they could not resell for a quarter of the very high price paid by our French in their need of them. Moreover, many of the victuals had been lost, having been taken by the soldiers as loot in the disorder that arose from their forcible seizure. The English consequently could not bring themselves to pay the sum I demanded, and left matters alone without making any reply until the evening. The Governor then sent an officer to beg me to remove all the Frenchmen together at eight o'clock that night. He also sent me what he had of their provisions and promised to render me an account of all the goods which the judges had taken. Our French, overjoyed at such a successful turn of the affair, made all preparations and left with their luggage and provisions at the hour arranged. However, I never succeeded in getting any satisfaction for the goods sold and embezzled by the English.

Next day the English Governor proclaimed all over the town by beat of drum that none of the inhabitants of Madras and its outskirts was to sell anything to the French, or to send anything to

St. Thomé, under pain of heavy penalties. To ensure compliance, two corps of lascarin guards were sent to the seashore to arrest anyone found taking food along the road to that town. These English, though supposed to be our allies, were thus the first to declare their ill will to us in this second siege. I was so enraged that I went to see the Governor next morning and plainly showed my resentment at his unjust proceedings. I pointed out that we were two allied European nations, and that it was more honourable and glorious for them to help us than to accede to the wishes of the Moors, our enemies: if they ever wanted our help in the future, in whatever occasion or circumstances might arise, we would show them more generosity than they were offering to us. But all I said was of no effect: on the contrary, he exhibited such jealousy and secret antipathy against our nation that I foresaw we would never get any good service from the English. I shall give proofs of this later on.

As soon as I had returned to my lodging, I was told that four French soldiers and sailors from St. Thomé, who intended to desert to the Dutch at Pulicat, had been seen to arrive in the suburbs. On hearing where they were staying, I at once sent three of my servants, who found them with a Kafir hired by the Dutch at Pulicat to debauch our countrymen. These four came to see me and pretended they had come only to buy food. This was a poor excuse to hide their cowardly intentions, as I well knew the English would allow nothing to pass. Not wishing, however, to show any suspicion of their deserting, I managed to keep them from leaving my lodging during the rest of the day; and after having some provisions prepared for them, I sent them back at night under escort to the first post of guards at St. Thomé, with a letter of recommendation to the Governor. In this I begged him to forbid our French from coming to Madras, as they could no longer get anything there and would find people only too ready to corrupt and make them desert, when they had sold their arms and spent all their money.

Our Viceroy all this time knew nothing of what was taking place at St. Thomé; nor that the Dutch were waiting patiently for him in our roads with all their forces in the Indies. He had been at sea since 1 June, when he had left Masulipatam. His fleet had encountered a terrible storm; all his ships were scattered by the force of the gale and had not been able to recover contact. The

Moor ships which he had taken were in the worst case, and being without food were the first to be cast away. They ran ashore on the coast of Masulipatam and thus returned to their former owners, all the French on board being made prisoners. The ship *Flamand* was driven to the Bengal coast; there she encountered persistent contrary winds, which prevented her reaching St. Thomé, so she stayed there for some time, until found by the Dutch, who seized her. Thus our Viceroy, after his Masulipatam expedition, found himself left with only his own ship, the *Breton*, the best sailer and the finest ship that had ever ploughed the Eastern seas. Throughout the passage he gave the land a wide berth, taking the best route he could to reach St. Thomé.[1]

Tuesday, 20 *June*. About 3 o'clock in the afternoon we saw, both from St. Thomé and Madras, a large ship in the offing which was trying to make St. Thomé. Watching this manœuvre, we could not imagine that it was our Viceroy who was coming up in full sail to the roadstead. We thought it was a Dutch ship trying to join their fleet, which was anchored in St. Thomé roads, for it was incredible that a single French ship would be bold enough to risk an encounter with the whole Dutch fleet of fourteen large men-of-war. When, however, it was seen that six Dutch ships were unfurling their sails, everyone rushed down to the seashore in their thousands; Moors, Hindus, Christians, Pariahs, Pallis,[2] English, Portuguese, and generally all sorts of per-

[1] Martin (I, 485) confirms the statements about de la Haye keeping out to sea and the ships meeting with bad weather, and says that the *Breton* lost sight of one of the Moor vessels on 2 June, and of the other the next day. The *Flamand* parted from her on 3 June, and after voyaging to the Nicobar islands reached Balasore on the coast of Orissa in July. There she was captured by the Dutch while many of her men were on shore (Martin, I, 535, 538–9; *Journal*, II, 136–7; *E.F.*, II, Bengal; 4 Hug. 73, 75, 79, 82). The *Journal* states (II, 80) that the two Moor ships took shelter on the Gingalee (Vizagapatam-Ganjam) coast, and that all the Frenchmen in them were made prisoners.

[2] MS. *les pareats, les palis*. The Pariahs are the largest section of the population in the Chingleput district containing Madras: the Pallis, who like the Pariahs are mainly agricultural labourers, numerically come next to them, but claim to be superior to them, on which account there is a long-standing feud between the two classes (*Imp. Gaz. of India*, X, 257, XVI, 261; Dubois, 61; Sherring, *Tribes and Castes of the Madras Presidency*, II, 112–3). The 'Parriar' and 'Pally' castes were among those which objected to the levy of a house-tax at Madras in 1686 (M.R., 1686, 5; Wheeler, 155). Many Pallis now farm their own lands, while others are engaged in trade or in Government service (Thurston, VI, 16).

sons, abandoned their affairs to get a good place to watch events. The vessel was ultimately recognised by its white banner of France to be our Viceroy's, carrying the glory, honour, and reputation of the French in these Eastern lands. Here we see the visible effects of Heaven's help, the downfall of Dutch arrogance, and the humiliation of their pride! Here, by God's grace, the whole seashore for three leagues was crowded with thousands of people to witness that nation's shame, cowardice, and infamy, and the deepest possible affront to its self-respect! They had already published all over the East that the Viceroy was in their hands. They had written to the court at Golconda that they had prepared an honourable prison for him in Batavia. And lastly, they saw that he was himself hastening under all sail to fall (as they thought) into their hands. General Rijkloff, therefore, felt that his honour was at stake, and that to employ his whole fleet against a single ship coming straight at them would bring him shame rather than glory in this important event. So, wishing to show the huge concourse of people that were on shore the contempt in which he held this French vessel, he ordered six only of his biggest ships to weigh, seize her, and round her up under his stern. Such was the plan and the bravado indulged in by the arrogance, pride, and vainglory of the Dutch.

Our invincible Viceroy was a worthy general of the greatest monarch who has ever reigned on earth. Let us see his thoughts, conduct, generosity and intrepid heart, in the greatest and most dangerous enterprises. This living hedge [MS. *haye*] was difficult to approach without feeling its thorns, to wit the good qualities always appertaining to him. When he saw this fleet before St. Thomé, he was at first doubtful as to what ships they could be. But, on approaching nearer, and recognising them as those of his enemies in wait for him, he showed such joy and alacrity that he inspired all his crew with the same glorious courage. They needed no harangue from him to prepare them for the fight, but everyone rushed to arms; the guns were got ready in less than no time; and everything was so well arranged that they only awaited the hour of attack. Our Viceroy was delighted to see such goodwill in his crew. He told them all that this occasion was more glorious than any of their former splendid actions; that they must either all perish with their ship or enter St. Thomé, in spite of the great number and forces of the enemy; and that all these crowds on the

shore signified that they were anxiously expected with every wish for their success. The pilots were ordered to make straight for the roadstead, as if there were no obstacles in the way.[1]

About this time that our ship was recognised and the six Dutch vessels were setting sail to meet her, the English Governor invited me to come to his house, where I found him in company with all the English officers and the principal Portuguese in the town. They were all on the terrace of Fort St. George, which is the highest spot in all Madras.[2] On my arrival the Governor gave me a seat near him and said: 'There is your Viceroy, who is coming into the roads of St. Thomé with such assurance and temerity. I am very surprised that, when he recognised the Dutch, he did not go about and look for another port, so as to avoid this powerful fleet, which will either sink him or take him prisoner.' 'You are mistaken,' I replied; 'our Viceroy is not capable of turning his back on any enemy, whom he has once faced. You know of his many fine actions and the glory he has acquired against all the forces of Golconda; and I am surprised that you should think him capable of retreating before the Dutch fleet. No, no! neither the strength of the enemy, nor the jealousy of others, will prevent him from gloriously entering St. Thomé. He will there show that all the forces of the Universe cannot wrest from him this conquest which has excited so much envy and ill will. See,' I continued, showing him that the Viceroy was approaching the six Dutch ships under all sail, 'see how he treats those enemies of whom you are so frightened that you are obliged to keep nightly watch and patrolling on the walls of your fortress. Let us see if they will stop his entry, and in what way they will take or sink him.'

As we were thus arguing, we saw two Dutch ships come within cannon-range and fire seven or eight long shot, of which our vessel took no notice, but continued on her way. This was in the

[1] Delort (*Revue Maritime, &c.*, XLVII, 468) states, on the authority of a report by the captain of the *Breton*, that de la Haye really approached the port under the impression held by some pilots on board that it was Sadras, and not St. Thomé. Martin (I, 486), however, says that de la Haye differed from this opinion, and on discovery of the mistake kept the ship on her course, in spite of the presence of the Dutch vessels.

[2] This may have been the gun-platform on the wall facing the sea, or more probably the terrace of the Fort House (i.e. Governor's house) inside the Fort. Fryer (I, 105) describes it as 'overlook[ing] all'; and a Madras con. of 26 January 1672 refers to its 'terraza', or terrace (M.R., 1672–8, 3).

hope of enticing these ships within pistol-shot, so as to return with interest the salute they had given to our flag; but the whole troop of English and Portuguese, much surprised that our ship did not reply to the Dutch, began at once to sneer among themselves. One said that the Viceroy was going to surrender without firing a shot; another that he wanted to parley; others held that the ship, being a fast sailer, wished to exhaust the enemy's artillery without defending herself, in sole reliance on her speed and the favourable wind she had to bring her in the roads, after passing through the enemy's fleet. Finally we saw the *Breton* in the middle of the six Dutch vessels, and as two of them were now within pistol-shot both to port and starboard, she opened fire with such effect that both were dismasted and shattered by these broadsides, for each visibly heeled over in a way that led us to think she was sinking. The other four Dutch vessels had by now approached, and were received with the same vigour and with such good result that the two nearest were dismasted and drew off. The remaining couple did not wish to be boarded, as was the Viceroy's design, so they made way for this dreadnought. Thus, but for an accident which happened to her, we should have had the satisfaction of seeing a single French ship defeat and ruin the entire Dutch power in the East, and enter gloriously into our port of St. Thomé.

The Dutch general, amazed to see that this ship had already routed his six sail and had got to windward of them, fired a signal-shot for all the others to weigh. Our ship was then passing through the fleet with the intention of boarding and seizing their flag-ship; but a heavy squall of wind and rain carried away her fore-course, which caused some disorder. Nevertheless the Viceroy, unperturbed by this mishap, asked the officers and pilots if they could bend another sail before attacking the enemy again, as he had decided to complete such a fine operation; but the wind was now dead against him, and he could neither reach the enemy nor make port, so he was obliged to stand for an offing, where the Dutch fleet did not dare to follow, as night was falling. They re-anchored far out, dispersed in different directions, some off Madras, others in front of St. Thomé. The two that had suffered from our fire could not face the open sea, but went into the Pulicat Lake for repairs.[1]

[1] Here again Carré's account of this combat is fuller than that given either by Martin (I, 486–8) or in the *Journal* (II, 77–8); but Martin, being on board the

It was delightful next day to see all the inhabitants feasting and rejoicing publicly, with every sign of pleasure at the victory of their French Viceroy, for it was thus they called our great conqueror, openly saying they were proud to have such a protector as sovereign of their country. The Hindus, who have hundreds of superstitions, with much solemnity assembled all their magicians and astrologers, who assured them by certain infallible signs and auguries that their great French Viceroy would always be victorious and conquer his enemies; also that he would shortly re-enter St. Thomé in glory, and that the Dutch would retire with ignominy and shame from the roadstead, where they now were.

About this time I could not help admiring the remarkable accuracy of English navigation. As they knew the time their fleet in England leaves for India every year, and how long it ought to take for the voyage, the Governor and his officers laid heavy wagers that the English ships due this year would arrive on the Coromandel coast before the end of the present month of June. So, inasmuch as the Dutch fleet, after its beating by a single French ship, did not dare to follow her out to sea, but had

Breton, was in a better position than Carré to know the real facts. He says that, owing to the mistake of a pilot to whom de la Haye deferred, the ship did not come on the Dutch ships with the wind as favourable as otherwise it might have been for attacking them. They were 18 to 20 vessels, and were recognised to be the Dutch fleet; but de la Haye kept the ship on her course with intent to anchor at St. Thomé. When nearly within cannon-range of them, a squall changed the wind and rent the fore top-sail. This deprived the *Breton* of her previous advantage, and the ship's officers and pilots on board advised de la Haye that it would be impossible to gain the roadstead of St. Thomé or that of Madras. This 'insurmountable obstacle' forced him to change the ship's course to a southerly one. A Dutch man-of-war, with the wind abaft, then came within musket-shot of the *Breton*, and gave her a broadside, to which after a pause the *Breton* responded with her guns. It was about 7 p.m., and three other Dutch vessels were nearing the first one and within cannon-shot, when to the joy of those in the *Breton* the four ships were recalled by a signal-shot and left to rejoin their fleet. Martin says the four ships would otherwise have almost certainly sunk or disabled the *Breton*. The *Journal* merely says that the *Breton* appeared at 5 p.m. and was continuing her course to St. Thomé, when a fog turned the wind against her; the Dutch, seeing this, sent three of their best ships after her, but owing to nightfall those at St. Thomé did not see what passed, and only heard some cannonading between them. Other accounts are given by Delestre, pp. 182–4 and in O.C. 3794 (see Fowrey, *n.* 2 at pp. 68–9): the former is clearly erroneous in saying that fighting continued for 72 hours, etc., while the latter agrees substantially with Martin's.

stationed itself before Madras and St. Thomé, the English Governor suspected that their intention was to await the arrival of the ships from England, which were daily expected. He, therefore, very prudently sent couriers to Porto Novo, Tranquebar, and other places on the coast to the south, with orders to have boats ready there to send to sea as soon as these ships were sighted, and warn them not to go to Madras, where the Dutch fleet was lying in wait for them. It is certain that without this foresight, which was timely and successful, the English fleet would have fallen into the hands of the Dutch. They would have had difficulty in offering resistance, as they were enfeebled by death, sickness, and shortage of food, after the long voyage from England to this country. They generally come direct, stopping only at the Canary islands, or those of Cape Verde, to take in water for the rest of the voyage.[1] The result was that on 18 June, when a fleet of ten English ships appeared off Porto Novo, a boat was ready to take them the warning letters from the Governor of Madras, by which they learnt the state of affairs. The English fleet therefore kept out to sea and followed a course to Masulipatam, where they made their first call, to await news from Madras.[2]

Meanwhile our Viceroy, having been forced by a contrary wind to put out to sea at night, did not know whether the Dutch fleet had followed him. He, with all his crew, therefore, passed the night under arms, with linstocks burning, ready to fire the guns. An hour before dawn he found himself in the middle of ten sail, but it was still so dark that he could not determine what they were. Being as prudent as he was enterprising, he thought that they might be enemy vessels, yet since they did not seem to recognise him, they might well be other ships. He, therefore, drew farther away to sea without doing anything, until he could discover who they were. At dawn, finding himself about a quarter of a league away from them, he was surprised to see them making northward under all sail, as if they shrank from meeting him. At the same

[1] The Company's ten ships, referred to by Carré, were permitted to put in only at São Thiago in the Cape Verde islands for refreshment, except in case of absolute necessity (Fryer, I, 37).

[2] This is confirmed by India Office records, showing that the English fleet was met off Porto Novo by messengers from Langhorn, who brought a letter of 13 June (O.S.), warning it of the arrival of the Dutch fleet at St. Thomé, and instructing it to go direct to Masulipatam (*E.F.*, II, Madras; Captain Basse's let. 26 June, 9 Mas., 15; cf. Martin, I, 498 and Fryer, I, 75).

time he noticed one ship, which left the fleet to take another route. This obliged the Viceroy to make all sail and bear down on her so as to reconnoitre or to fight, if she proved to be an enemy vessel. After a short time he came within cannon-shot and fired twice to make the ship heave to; she at once complied and sent a boat with the captain to our Viceroy's ship. We then learnt that she was an Indian merchantman, which was going to trade on the Bengal coast. The captain also said that the nine other ships he had just left were English, on their way from Europe to Masulipatam, and that he had been taken on board the commodore's vessel and cross-examined as to what the Dutch fleet was doing and where it might be then. The Viceroy, who, in warlike matters, believed that everyone used tricks, like himself, could not imagine that the English Company would in war-time have sent ten merchant ships to India. He thought it was a ruse of General Rijkloff who had detached this Indian ship from his fleet to draw him towards the Bengal coast, from which he would be unable to return because of contrary winds.[1] The Viceroy then dismissed this Indian ship and continued his course to the south, to get provisions and water which he lacked, at the first port south of St. Thomé.[2]

Some days afterwards he arrived at Ponty Chery [Pondicherry], where the local prince received him with all possible honour, civilities, and testimonies of affection. He considered himself very honoured to see the Viceroy, who landed, hoping by his presence to better the state of affairs, so as to avoid being surprised [by the Dutch].[3] While he was in that place preparing for a return to St. Thomé, the Dutch, who were cruising in the neighbourhood of our roadstead and that of Madras, received news from Pulicat that nine English ships had arrived at Masulipatam. They saw at

[1] Martin (I, 492) refers to the *Breton* meeting the English fleet; so does Fryer, who says (I, 75) that after leaving Sadras (some 40 miles south of Madras) 'we saw a French man-of-war, and he us, but would not trust us. We knew him to be French by our intelligencer, who laid out his station [St. Thomé], where he encountered four Batavians [Dutchmen] and discomfited them'.

[2] Thus Martin says (I, 488) that on 23 June the water-ration was reduced to one pint a day for all without distinction, as they were in want of it and provisions, and that the crew murmured greatly.

[3] The *Breton* anchored off Pondicherry on 30 June, and de la Haye landed the next day. The 'local prince' was Sher Khan Lodi, the Bijapur governor of that part of the coast, whose people assisted the French representative, M. de Lespinay, in supplying water and provisions (Martin, I, 489–90).

once that they had missed their chance in respect to the latter; and as their only hope lay in seizing our Viceroy, in which they had failed so shamefully, they returned and anchored in St. Thomé roads, out of range of our guns, to await the arrival of his ship, which would certainly have to come back, his presence there being absolutely necessary.[1] But in order to forget nothing, let us now resume the sequence of my Journal.

Wednesday, 21 *June*. A French sergeant of the St. Thomé garrison came to see me this morning, bringing letters from the Governor, in which he begged me to search for all the French in Madras; also for some deserters, of whom they had had no news for several days.[2] The English Governor this time did give us some help. I went and asked him to send orders to all the guards of the town not to permit any Frenchmen to leave the place, unless by my orders. This he civilly granted to me, and all our French were, therefore, obliged to come to my lodging, one after the other, to know why I was keeping them in Madras. Accordingly I showed them the sergeant and the orders of the Governor of St. Thomé that they were all to be collected in the town. On this they told me of houses outside Madras, to which I went with the sergeant and some English officers. There we found quite a number of our soldiers and sailors, and brought them all back to my lodgings. These I sent off with the others about midday, though with no little difficulty, as the latter had come to buy provisions, which the English would never allow them to take away.

Afterwards I went to see the English Governor to thank him for his civility on this occasion. I found him courteous and obliging; he made me a hundred excuses and tried to persuade me that he was very sorry to have to use such severe measures against our

[1] India Office records (*E.F.*, II, Masulipatam; 9 Mas., 15) show that the nine English ships reached Masulipatam on 26 June (O.S.), i.e. 6 July (N.S.), so Carré is mistaken in saying that news of their arrival came while de la Haye was at Pondicherry, which he left on 1 July: cf. *n.* 1 at p. 582 *post* as to news of the arrival reaching Madras on 16 or 17 July. The news received from Pulicat was probably that the ships had been sighted on their way to Masulipatam. The Dutch ships remained at St. Thomé till 27 or 28 June, when (on hearing of the Viceroy being at or near Pondicherry) they sailed for the south (*Journal*, II, 78; cf. pp. 569–72 *post*).

[2] Martin (I, 492) says that, during de la Haye's absence from St. Thomé, more than 50 soldiers and sailors had deserted, some of whom had done so because of overstaying leave at Madras and fearing punishment on their return.

people in St. Thomé. He said that for his part he would have much desired to help us in every way, but he had been dissuaded and prevented from this by the officers of his council, who compelled him to satisfy the Moors entirely; and that he had not been able to refuse this, out of the fear that, being masters of the surrounding country, they would otherwise cut off all food and provisions from coming to Madras.[1] These reasons, however, seemed very weak to me, and served only to hide the bad intentions of the English. If they had really been resolute and sympathetic men, they could have defied the Moors in the way their late Governor did. On that occasion these same Moors came some years ago with a large force to demand money and other things of which they were in need; but he flouted their request, showed contempt for their menaces and army, and sent them back with several rounds from his guns, when they tried to approach the town.[2] Since that time the Moors had never dared to ask them for anything until the rule of the present Governor. They found him an easy-going man, who would spend money more willingly to maintain peace than to make war; so the Moors did all they wished with him, as is easy to see by all the demands and proposals they daily sent him, without troubling themselves over whether they were just or advantageous to the English.

Thursday, 22 June. The encamped Moor generals sent one of their principal officers to the Governor of Madras with a proposal which so embarrassed all the English there that they suspected the Moors were seeking a pretext to break with them, taking the proposition to be what we call in good French 'a German [i.e. a groundless] quarrel'. The Moors suggested that, if they wished to prove their friendship and alliance, they should send food and refreshments to the Dutch fleet in the roads. The English found themselves in a great quandary, not knowing how to take this

[1] This accords with the reasons given by Langhorn in a letter of 5 July (O.S.) to de la Haye (*E.F.*, II, Madras; 17 F.S.G., 31), as well as those mentioned by Martin (I, 493), viz. his dependence on the Moors for provisions and trade, and their threats to blockade Madras, if the English let provisions go to St. Thomé.

[2] This appears to refer to a month's blockade of Madras in 1670 by Chenupalli Mirza and his troops, in an attempt to extort a present of 1,500 pagodas. Governor Foxcroft got rid of them by putting the town 'upon a posture of defence without offence', i.e. in the shape of cannon-balls, and by a complaint to the Nawab of Golconda, who ordered Chenupalli to depart (*E.F.*, II, Madras; 3 Misc., 128–9; Love, I, 265).

ridiculous proposal. On the one hand they feared a break with the Moors whom they dreaded; on the other hand they did not wish to give any help to a nation with which they were at war. They were in doubt as to the way in which they should reply to the Moors, who were pressing the matter. Finally they sent to say that, as they were at war with the Dutch, they could not send them any help; but that they would not prevent the Moors from sending boats on board the Dutch ships with everything they wanted. The Moors were satisfied with this, and used Madras boats to send them food and refreshments at night. Thus these generous English freely granted for the service of the Dutch, their enemies, a thing which they never wished to allow to the French, their allies.[1]

This same day the Moors posted some companies on the road to a village called Trivelicany [Triplicane] between Madras and St. Thomé, in order to prevent the passage of food and any people between the two towns.[2] In order to close the road effectively, they decided to make a large and deep ditch from Triplicane to the sea, a distance of not more than two musket-shots across. On hearing that the Moors were there, I at once sent a servant to the Governor of St. Thomé with a letter to warn him, as I always did on such occasions, of the enemy plan, so that he might prevent the construction of the ditch, which would have given much trouble to our people at St. Thomé.

Friday, 23 June. The French there, in consequence of this warning, two hours before daybreak dispatched all the cadets and volunteers, with some companies of lascarins, to Triplicane. Finding the Moors asleep, they put most of them to the sword, killed a cavalry captain, took six horses, and chased all the others from the post. It is an advantageous and pleasant place, lying in a thick wood of large palm trees, with a tank[3] and large, square, stone-

[1] Against this statement, see *n.* 2 at p. 450, and para. 1 of p. 556 *ante.*

[2] The village of Triplicane lay immediately to the south of Madras on the old road between Fort St. George and St. Thomé (Love, I, 349).

[3] Its name was derived from *Tiru-alli-keni,* holy white lotus tank (*Hobson-Jobson,* 939; Manucci, III, 414*n*), so tanks such as Carré mentions were likely to be in it and some four or five are shown in Conradi's map of Madras (1755). There was a tank in front of the Parthasarathi pagoda; and before taking in that pagoda the special form of oath which was used in the Mayor's Court, the witness had to bathe in the tank (Printed Records of Fort St. George, *Mayor's Court Minutes,* vol. 2, 4 May 1724; cf. Love, II, 233–34). There was

faced washing places, such as are generally used for the superstitious Hindu ceremonies.[1]

In the evening a courier from Golconda arrived at the house of the Capuchin Fathers of Madras. He was from our ambassador there, with news of his negotiations for St. Thomé.

Saturday, 24 June. On information that the Moors had come at night to lay ambushes on the road to St. Thomé, I sent one of my spies with a little note to the Governor there, warning him to send an officer with a strong escort to the first English guard-post, to receive important letters which I had got from the court of Golconda: this arrangement was successfully carried out. After midday we saw a large ship out at sea, which came to anchor close to the Dutch flag-ship. It was from Ceylon with the news that six ships from Batavia were coming to their assistance.

In the evening a Dutch squadron, which was anchored well outside, moved nearer inshore and lay again in Madras roads. This gave great alarm to the town, where all night both soldiers and citizens stood to arms; and, as such alarms seldom pass without some remarkable occurrence, it caught one of the most substantial Portuguese in the town, whose pride cost him life. That night he was walking at the foot of the ramparts with his arms, and the English sentry challenged him with the cry, 'Who goes there? Halt.' He considered that his honour and pride would be wounded if he stopped at the order of this soldier, so he did not even reply, but continued his walk with measured steps like a person who feared observation. Thereupon the soldier, who was on duty, having challenged him again and got no reply, shot him and broke his shoulder, from which he died seven days later.[2] This caused some murmuring among the other Portuguese, as the man was one of the most important of them; but it was unreasonable, and the

also a large tank nearer the sea, as shown in the map facing p. 517. The last is probably the one meant by Carré.

[1] Presumably Carré refers to purification by bathing, to which high-caste Hindus are addicted (Dubois, 187–8, 202), and to which Moslems also resort on special occasions, cf. p. 604 *post*.

[2] The Portuguese was probably Nicolo Gomes, 'one of the captains of the auxiliaries, then being called upon duty in regard of some apprehensions from the Dutch and Mores, [who was] unfortunately shott in the night by the centinel [sentry] at the Chowtrey Gate and deceased of that wound': in consequence of this his daughter was granted a compassionate allowance in October 1673 (M.R., 1672–8, 18, reproduced by Love, I, 375).

soldier was given high praise for doing his duty, while the Portuguese was blamed for running such a risk in ignorance of the articles of war.

Sunday, 25 June. All the Dutch fleet, which was dispersed, put out to sea and, having manœuvred the whole day along the coast, came back in the evening to anchor as near St. Thomé as they could out of cannon-shot, with the exception of one ship; she went to Madras roads, so as to be nearer Pulicat, whither an advice-boat was sent that same evening. This obliged all Madras to pass the night under arms, as on the preceding one; and many sent, or thought of sending, their families, furniture, and merchandise, into the country. I found it extraordinary that in these alarms and events of war the Madras inhabitants fled to the Dutch at Pulicat, and that those of Pulicat came to the English at Madras, each believing themselves to be safer with their enemies than with those to whom they were accustomed, and from whom they should sooner have expected protection. Many of these timid creatures, believing themselves no more secure with the Dutch than with the English, came daily to me with proposals that I should procure them leave from our Governor of St. Thomé to go there with their goods and families among us French. It was certainly one of the safest places, as it was protected by a wall and some twenty bastions, with 300 pieces of artillery, capable of defending the town against any Oriental power.

Monday, 26 June. The Governor of St. Thomé and M. Baron sent some French officers with civil letters to the English Governor, begging him to allow them to procure some special refreshments for their own table. I went to this Englishman and gave him the letters, at which he jeered. M. Baron also generously offered to send him 500 Frenchmen,[1] and as many lascarins, in case of need, should the Dutch make an attack. The Governor began to laugh on reading this letter, and in sole reply told me haughtily that the French required help more than the English, who had nothing to fear from their enemies; so that I was obliged to send our French back as they had come, without being able to obtain anything from this English Governor.

[1] In August Langhorn (*E.F.*, II, Madras; 17 F.S.G., 47) estimated the number of the French at St. Thomé as 500, and Fryer (I, 117) as 600. On 11 July the number of soldiers and sailors was found to be 204 and 357 respectively, excluding officers and some others (Martin, I, 498).

Next morning, 27 *June*, I went to the parade ground of Madras to see a review of the English garrison. I counted only 40 English, 60 black Portuguese, and about 150 lascarins.[1] Considering this small force and the weakness of the town, I wondered at the pride and arrogance of these Englishmen, who jeered at us and had despised the generous offer that our gentlemen at St. Thomé had made in case of need.

At noon we saw passing within musket-shot of Madras two large merchantmen, which came from Pulicat, laden with munitions and food. They went to the Dutch ships, to whom they gave the news that our Viceroy was at Pondicherry and was very busy loading his ship with food and provisions.[2] About four o'clock in the evening we saw the whole Dutch fleet set sail for the south along the coast *en route* for Pondicherry, which was only three days away from St. Thomé by sea.[3]

Saturday, 1 *July*. Our gentlemen at St. Thomé had heard nothing of the Viceroy since his fight with the Dutch, which we witnessed on 20 June. They did not know where he had gone with his ship, but their anxiety was relieved on receiving letters from him, saying that he was at Pondicherry, and was working with all possible haste to get food and munitions for St. Thomé, whither he soon hoped to return.[4]

This day I was with the Governor and some English officers, who could not help letting me know, though this was done civilly, that I was a heavy burden on them and gave them great anxiety by my residence in the town, because of the provisions that I sent every night to St. Thomé. You must understand that, in spite of all prohibitions, the Hindus and local people did all they

[1] As to the garrison being larger than this, see *n.* 2 at p. 548 *ante*.

[2] This conflicts with Martin's statement (I, 488–9) that the *Breton* did not reach Pondicherry till 29 June, and it seems probable that the news brought was only that she had been sighted sailing down the coast.

[3] The *Journal* (II, 78) shows the Dutch fleet as leaving on 28 June, but the entry may have been made after its actual departure.

[4] This also conflicts with Martin, who says (I, 489) that de la Haye did not send letters from Pondicherry to de Rebrey until June 30th, and as Pondicherry was some 75 miles, i.e. at least two days' journey, from St. Thomé, they could scarcely have arrived the next day unless the pattamar carrying them made special haste. The *Journal* (II, 78–9), however, confirms that letters were received by pattamar on 1 July about the Viceroy's possible return by land.

could to assist the French, and that the guards, which the English had posted to prevent the passage of food, were Hindu lascarins, all of whose captains were at my disposal. By this means I nightly sent numerous convoys of food, which were handed over to our nearest St. Thomé guard-post. Seeing the jealousy I was causing to the English, I took a commodious lodging in the suburbs, where I was much more at liberty to act and get provisions, as I was on the passage by which all commodities came from the villages and country-side. I was also near a gate which gave on a by-way leading to St. Thomé. I managed so well that the English Governor sent orders to the guards at this gate to pass on all the provisions which I sent in that way, so that nothing would be seen going by the side of the sea, which was giving most anxiety. It is true that this road was longer and more dangerous, as there was a river to ford; but notwithstanding all these difficulties it was a master-stroke getting this passage from the English Governor, and our French in St. Thomé were much helped and received a great deal of food in this way. There were always some of our companies in the neighbourhood, who received and escorted the daily and nightly convoys I sent of corn, rice, vegetables, butter, pigs, fowls, etc.

Monday, 3 *July*. The English Governor called me to complain that a French soldier had arrested three black Portuguese in the town and created great disorder in the house where he found them. I had already heard about this affair from one of our people, who had come to see me on the subject. I replied to the Governor that I was much surprised that his officers and the people of Madras did all they could to attract our men from St. Thomé, in order to make them desert and leave our service; also that these three black Christians, about whom he made such a fuss, had been engaged in the service of our Viceroy, and had deserted from St. Thomé eight days before; that since then they had taken service with an English officer, who knew quite well that they were soldiers of the French; that he ought to reciprocate the treatment we gave them in St. Thomé, where we had refused to take into our service two Englishmen; and that these had preferred to go to the Moors, where they still were, rather than to return to their former employment. I saw that the Governor was very offended by the action of this Frenchman, but I told him we had more reason to take offence at their proceedings against us, seeing that most of the

English lured our soldiers to their houses for the sake of their arms and their clothes, despoiling them of everything they could, after which they obliged them to desert. I was so sure of all these facts that I said there was not a single officer's house which had not its arms-rack full of guns, pistols, swords, and other weapons of our French, with which they decorated their rooms and relief guard-posts. On this point I showed such bitter annoyance to the Governor that he took all possible trouble to give up the three black Christians, whom I sent back under a good escort to St. Thomé.

Our Viceroy, who was meanwhile at Pondicherry, lading his ship with provisions, was ashore engaged with the Governor of the place, when a ship's-boat came in to warn him that the Dutch fleet had appeared out at sea, and was hastening under all sail into the roadstead. He at once stopped every kind of business and re-embarked with all his crew to weigh anchor. It was already late when the Dutch appeared; and not wishing to enter at night, they anchored in a crescent round the Viceroy's ship, to keep guard till next day, when they had resolved to attack him. But they had not the time, for our Viceroy, with a heaven-sent favourable wind, managed to escape from this floating prison. He set sail at nightfall and passed through the middle of the enemy fleet. He opened such a terrible fire on any ship he met that the cowardly Dutch thought themselves lost and were so dumbfounded by this on-slaught that they did not dare even to fire a cannon-shot at him, nor were they brave enough to pursue him.[1] Consequently, just as we were beginning to be anxious about him, we were relieved on the evening of Tuesday the 4th to see the *Breton* appear slightly to the north of Madras, where the currents obliged her to anchor some three leagues out in the open.[2]

Wednesday, 5 July. Our Viceroy's ship set sail in the morning and bore south to try to make the St. Thomé roads. Two of our ships' boats with the Governor and M. Baron went out to meet

[1] Martin (1, 490) makes no mention of any such engagement with the Dutch fleet. He merely says that the *Breton* left Pondicherry on 1 July, after 8 or 10 suspicious vessels had been sighted sailing towards the north, whereupon all the men ashore were hastily recalled, and she sailed to the north along the coast, keeping a bit out to sea, till 10 p.m., when six or seven Dutch ships anchored off Sadras were discovered. She then took a southerly course and succeeded in evading them that night and the next day.

[2] Martin (1, 491) confirms this, saying the *Breton* anchored at 6 p.m.

her and congratulate the Viceroy on his happy return.[1] The English at Madras were accustomed to hoist their flag on the top of their Fort when even the smallest ship appeared at sea; but, though they plainly saw our French banner and knew that it was our Viceroy's ship which was passing within cannon-shot of that fastness, far from wishing as allies to give him any mark of respect, they did not even hoist their ensign. I could not help showing my resentment to some English officers, from whom I received the proud and arrogant reply that it was because our Viceroy had seized the English ship of a private merchant [Jearsey] who was trading with the Moors and Dutch, a thing that they took very much to heart.

Finally, when our ship was on the point of entering the St. Thomé roadstead, all our guns made themselves heard over the country-side and up to the neighbouring mountains. Thus they announced the arrival of our Conqueror, who, after having flouted the Dutch fanfares and pride, was re-entering St. Thomé gloriously and triumphantly. Our joyous greetings mingled with the *Te Deum Laudamus,* which was sung in the big church to give thanks to God for the visible help He had continually given against all the efforts and malice of our enemies.[2]

Such was the success of the great preparations, the threats, and the fine doings, of the proud Dutch fleet. They had with unheard of arrogance published all over India the capture of the Viceroy, the sack of St. Thomé, and the entire destruction of the French in the East. That, I say, is how their shame and infamy were unmasked before the whole Coromandel coast. Couriers were sent everywhere to take the news of the unique disgrace suffered by this fine Dutch fleet in being unable to fight or seize this single ship, which had put out of action four of their best sail at the first encounter. The latter had been obliged to withdraw to Ceylon for repairs, and to await a larger force before returning again to tempt fortune, as we shall see later on.

No manner could be more civil and obliging than that in which

[1] This is corroborated by the *Journal* (II, 79) and by Martin, who says (I, 491–2) that the Governor (de Rebrey) first sent a catamaran to reconnoitre the vessel, and then came with Baron to meet it, while the *Breton* was on her way to the St. Thomé roads.

[2] The *Journal* (II, 79) says that de la Haye entered the town at 2 p.m., and Martin (I, 494) states that his first action was to go to the cathedral to give thanks to God for his happy return.

I was received by the Viceroy. He gave me an account of his voyage and we had full interviews during two days on what he wanted me to do and how I was to behave towards the English in Madras. The Viceroy thought it advisable that I should remain there, to act as I had been doing in all outside matters that concerned help to St. Thomé, especially as to food, which was urgently needed.[1]

[1] Both Martin (I, 496) and the *Journal* (II, 79) mention that Carré brought letters from the French court on 6 July, and the latter says he had a private conversation with de la Haye.

CHAPTER VI

EVENTS AT ST. THOMÉ AND MADRAS (JULY—AUGUST 1673)

Thursday, 6 July. Our Viceroy, fearing that the Moors were not well assured of his arrival, sent two lascarin officers to their camp to know what their generals intended to do, and why they had not retired; also to warn them that, if they did not soon withdraw from the country, he would pay them a visit which would cost them dear. General Baba Sahib received these envoys with every possible courtesy, made them presents, and sent them back with a civil reply that he was only awaiting final orders from the Golconda court to retire and abandon their camp. After this warning the Moors were in a state of continual alarm, thinking that at any moment all the forces at St. Thomé would fall on their camp and exterminate them.

Friday, 7 July. The Viceroy kept me two hours this morning in private conversation on the subject of my conducting outside affairs. He gave me civil letters for the English Governor in Madras. In them he represented that the union and close alliance which existed between the two crowns of France and England, ought to extend to all their affairs, so that it should be the glory and honour of these two nations to assist and protect one another in this country, so far away from any help from Europe.

I returned, therefore, to Madras and went on arrival to see the Governor. Outwardly he showed great pleasure at the happy return of our Viceroy; but he received his letters with an exceeding embarrassment, which he could not help revealing to me. He told me that he was much obliged to our Viceroy for his civility and advantageous offers, but that his hands were tied in the matter of warfare with the Dutch. The Viceroy acted as the subject of a king, whereas he followed the orders only of the chiefs of his Company, and knew nothing of the King of England's affairs or of his wars; so he could not join at all in the affairs of the French who all worked for their King, whereas he had nothing else to consider but his Company's trade and business.[1] I avow that this

[1] Carré's statements as to de la Haye's proposal for an offensive alliance and Langhorn's reply are corroborated by Martin (I, 497–8) and India Office records as to letters passing between them and between Langhorn and Golconda on the subject in July (*E.F.*, II, Madras; 17 F.S.G., 30, 31; 26 F.S.G., 18, 19).

speech and the haughty manner in which he announced his Cromwellian [MS. *cronvelistes*] sentiments angered me so deeply that, had it not been for the express orders and earnest prayers of our Viceroy to conciliate the English Governor, as being absolutely necessary for our welfare, I could never again have seen this man who, like most of his countrymen, was unwilling to recognise either king, faith, or law. After this conversation I withdrew from the Governor, who was much troubled and occupied with preparing palanquins, horses and baggage, for English officers going to Masulipatam, on the news received that their English fleet of nine ships had arrived there.[1]

At the end of the day the Governor himself escorted these officers about half a league outside the town with a pomp and magnificence which exhibited the riches and progress of the English Company in these Eastern parts. About ten o'clock at night the Governor returned by torchlight when everyone was at rest. He then ordered the artillery of the Fort to be fired, as a farewell to those whom he had just left.[2] This action struck such terror over the whole town that during the rest of the night there was a general panic, everyone abandoning his house and running hither and thither, arms in hand, to seek the enemy, without knowing where he was going. Some cried out that the Dutch at Pulicat had come during the night to surprise the town; others affirmed it was the Moor army; while many stated it was the French from St. Thomé, who wished to avenge the affronts and refusals they had continually received from the English. Meanwhile some thirty Portuguese and Christian ladies who lived in my street, not knowing where to go and hide in this great tumult and seeing themselves abandoned by their husbands, brothers, and relatives, rushed

[1] News of the arrival of the Company's ships at Masulipatam on the 6th could not have reached Madras the next day, 7 July; cf. *n.* 1 at p. 567 *ante*. The English officers in question were Richard Mohun, chief of the factory at Masulipatam, who had been on a visit to Madras, and Joseph Hinmers, the 'second' of Council at Madras, who accompanied him to Masulipatam for a short stay there (*E.F.*, II, Masulipatam; Fort let. 26 June, 9 Mas., 14).

[2] Governor Langhorn probably escorted them to the Company's garden outside the town, where it was usual to receive farmans from Golconda, etc., and meet distinguished persons; cf. Love, I, 356, 420, 455–6. A gun-salute from the Fort may also have been ordered in their honour, as stated by Carré, for Langhorn had one fired even at the consecration of 'the popish church' near the Fort in 1675 (*E.F.*, II, Madras; Love, I, 399).

to my lodging and, half dead with fright, begged me to save and hide them, and protect them from the fury of the enemy. Until I had ascertained the reason of this false alarm, I could almost have believed, like the others, that powerful enemies were in the town, against whom I had as defence only this troop of women, though they considered themselves safer with me than if they had been in the strongest place in the East. Daylight at last brought calm to the town, and nothing was lost except a little sleep by many persons, who were not accustomed to pass the night in such unpleasant vigils.

Saturday, 8 July. Runners came to St. Thomé from Surat and Golconda with packets for our Viceroy. The first brought letters from Europe, which caused general joy by the good news they contained of the victories of our great monarch, Louis XIV, over the Dutch. Those from Golconda were letters from our ambassador there, giving a marvellous account of his negotiations with the King of Golconda. He did not realize that all the courtesy and fine hopes by which they flattered him were mere subterfuges to gain the time on which the Dutch counted to achieve their promise to take the Viceroy and St. Thomé.[1] We received some further letters from Masulipatam, which gave the news that the King of Macassard [Macassar] had surprised and cut to pieces all the Dutch in his country, and had resolved never to make peace with them, or to allow them in his dominions again; also that the Queen of Achin, who had formerly driven the Dutch out of her territory, had been surprised by an act of treachery, which they had committed against her kingdom in order to fortify themselves in it. She had, therefore, been once more requested by the ambassadors of the King of Sumatra not to allow any Dutch ship to enter or trade in her kingdom, but to receive the French cordially, as the subjects of the greatest monarch that has ever been in the Universe.[2] It is certain that, if our Viceroy, on arrival in India, had

[1] The *Journal* (II, 79) mentions the receipt of such a letter from M. de Châteaupers on 6 July, while it (II, 80) and Martin (I, 496–7) say this was followed by a letter received on 8 July, showing the probable failure of his mission, owing to the Dutch promising assistance. Carré puts the last letter a day later (p. 581 *post*).

[2] 'Macassar' here means the island of Celebes in the East Indies (*Hobson-Jobson*, 529; Bowrey, 291*n*). There had been a war between its king and the Dutch for several years (cf. R. Blok, *Hist. of the I. of Celebes*, Calcutta, 1817, pp. 18–20; *E.F.*, 1668–9, 86, 186, 273). The Queen of Achin in Sumatra was the second one, who reigned from 1669 to 1675 (Bowrey, 311*n*).

known anything about these Eastern countries and of the state of affairs between the Europeans and the natives there, and had directed all his forces, his ships, and his great courage and leadership, against the Dutch, he would infallibly have ruined them and done the most glorious and unprecedented deeds, with the protection of all the princes of the East. The latter sought nothing more than a fine opportunity to expel or exterminate these petty tyrants, who wish to govern every place, where they are suffered to go.

Sunday, 9 *July*. About 300 Moors appeared in sight of St. Thomé. The Viceroy at once sent out some companies from the town, which charged them so fiercely that they had no time to reconnoitre, but fled in disorder without accomplishing anything. In their flight, however, they showed a white flag, ignoring which our men fell upon them like lions and drove them back to their camp.[1] Shortly after this some of these Moors arrived at Madras in a great fright, and sought out the Governor and Viranna, the richest and most powerful merchant in the town. They complained that their generals had sent an officer that morning with a white flag to parley with the French Viceroy, but that he had sent out some companies of demons, who had chased them back to camp, killing and wounding many of them.

The merchant Viranna was very zealous for our nation, in view of the benefit he derived from our Company. He was its agent and alone managed its trade in these parts, so did all he could for our interests. He saw that the Moors wished to employ him to negotiate an arrangement with the French, and sent to tell me that he had something secret and important to communicate. This induced me to go to his house, where he received me courteously and showed a great desire to be amicable towards the French. He informed me that he was much displeased at our having slain and wounded several members of an officer's escort, which the Moor generals had sent to negotiate some agreement with our Viceroy. He earnestly begged me to write at once in favour of the Moors, so as to work for an advantageous settlement leading to the establishment of good relations between them. To this I replied that, if the Moors had been maltreated and driven back to their camp by our men, it was through their own fault, as it was not the custom

[1] Martin (I, 497) and the *Journal* (II, 80) both mention this affray, the latter giving the number of Moor cavalry as 400.

in war for enemies, who wished for a parley, to come with 300 armed men close up to a besieged town, where there were advance-guards on all sides to prevent any enemy approach. Also that our Viceroy had already shown them four days ago the proper way to behave on such occasions. To notify the generals of his arrival, he had sent to their camp only two unarmed lascarins, who had been well received and sent back honourably with presents [p. 577]. They, on the contrary, had sent 300 armed men without any notice of their intentions. They must not, therefore, be astonished if our men attacked them, believing that they had come for some enterprise, as they were continually doing on the roads to St. Thomé. As to the second point, I assured him that our Viceroy was so just and reasonable that, provided the Moors acted in good faith, without any fraud and with good sense, I would give my word that they would receive every sort of satisfaction. The French had not come to India to make war, but only to establish trade and good business, like the other Europeans. Viranna was very satisfied with this interview, and begged me to employ him in all affairs where he would be of service to our Viceroy and our nation. Since then I have made much use of this powerful man, whose meeting me in this way and goodwill were certainly a great help to us, as will be seen later on.

This same day our Viceroy received notice from Golconda that the peace negotiations, from which we had been led to expect so much, had received a set-back, and then been finally broken off, from the continual intrigues of the Dutch. They had given the Golconda court to understand that they expected ten more vessels from Batavia to join their fleet, which had now retired to Ceylon; this was in order to refit for its return as soon as possible to blockade St. Thomé, which they declared was no longer in a state to resist them.

Monday, 10 *July*. On the news from Golconda received the previous day, that the Moors intended to continue the war, the Viceroy at once put 500 workmen to construct a redoubt half a cannon-shot to the north of the town, to protect the wall, which was weakest on this side.[1] He also wrote to me at Madras to go to see the Governor on his behalf in order to get news of the English fleet which had arrived at Masulipatam, and to learn the state of

[1] Martin (I, 497) and the *Journal* (II, 80) say this redoubt was traced out by the Viceroy on 8 July.

affairs between France and England. Upon these points the English Governor was sly and secretive, telling me he had not had any letters from those ships.[1] Realising his incivility, I withdrew to my lodgings, where I at once wrote to St. Thomé, telling the Viceroy of the discourtesy I had received from him. This obliged the Viceroy to send me that evening a letter to the Governor, which I took to him and in which he complained of his behaviour and begged him to maintain the co-operation and goodwill that he always expected from him as a friend and ally. But, in spite of this civility, I got no reply from the Governor other than the one he had already given me on this subject, to wit that he was a servant of his Company and not of the King of England, which exempted him from many of our Viceroy's demands; also that, as a merchant, he was obliged to be friendly and co-operate with the Moors and natives, who could prohibit his carrying on any kind of trade and business, if he acted against their wishes.

Wednesday, 11 *July.* Our Viceroy, on advice from me that a Moor general was coming this day to Madras, to visit and discuss affairs with the Governor, set out at the head of his guards, all the cadets and volunteers, and a good company of Frenchmen and lascarins. He went to a point crossing the route the general had to take. On the latter's appearance his escort of 1,500 horsemen at first stood firm at the sight of our men; but as soon as they recognised our Viceroy, who advanced right on them in full battle-order, neither their large numbers, nor the presence of their general Baba Sahib, availed to make them engage us or continue their journey. At our first fire they turned tail and retired at full speed to their camp, postponing their proposed visit to the English at Madras to a more favourable day.

The following night, one of our Frenchmen, returning to St. Thomé from Madras by the land-side, when about a quarter of a league from the latter town, was attacked by a troop of unknown men, who came out of a little village where they were lying in

[1] Though the Abbé disbelieved Langhorn's statement, its truth is confirmed by India Office records, showing that, in spite of elaborate arrangements having been made for the speedy communication of news of the arrival of the fleet at Masulipatam, this did not reach Fort St. George till July (O.S.), i.e. 17 July (N.S.); *E.F.*, II, Madras; 9 Mas. 18, 19; M.R., 1672– , 15. Probably the news really arrived on 16 July, which was ignored as being a Sunday; cf. p. 585 *post*.

ambush. They left the wretched man for dead, with three sabre-cuts on his head and four on his body, his clothes all in pieces beside him and his blood-stained sword still in his hand. This showed that the aggressors had felt the effects of this poor soldier's courage before leaving him in this pitiable state. He was found next morning by some lascarins, who were passing by; and, seeing that he was still alive, they had the charity to take him to St. Thomé. He had time to receive the Last Sacraments before he died, and to say that his assailants, some thirty in number, were in ambush at a corner of a village, and had surrounded him suddenly. He had wounded seven or eight with his firearms and sword during the quarter of an hour he had defended himself against them. We suspected it was an English trick; others were sure it was due to Tailliars [Talliars], a caste of bandits, who lurk in the mountains and woods during the day and ravage the country-side at night.[1] We could not believe it was done by Moors, as the place was too near Madras and on the far side of a river which was not easy to cross at night. This episode cut the Viceroy to the quick and he tried to find out who was responsible for the assassination. He sent to the village and warned the inhabitants that, if they did not leave it in three days, he would massacre them all and burn everything to the last straw; so all the Hindus, pariahs, and other inhabitants of the place, had to abandon it and did not dare to resort there any more.

Thursday, 13 *July*. The Viceroy held a general review of his remaining forces, both in the town and in the ships. He found that the French, black Portuguese, and lascarins, amounted to 1,200 men carrying arms, with whom he was holding the place in a state

[1] Talliars, watchmen, from Tamil *talaiwari*, lit. a chief watchman. Talliars were employed as watchmen at Madras from the time of the first settlement there (Love, I, 126). As elsewhere in India, these watchmen were not generally of good repute; and in 1686 the Agent and Council held that they made it their constant practice to receive half the stolen goods and let the thieves escape with the rest (M.R., 1686–92, 96; Wheeler, 160). But from the context, and that of the reference to them at p. 589 *post*, Carré clearly means not these local watchmen, but those of up-country poligars (i.e. feudal chiefs), who were then mostly of a predatory nature (cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, 718–9). Thus in 1673 the talliars up-country were stated to be 'very much out of order and up in arms'; and again in 1675 the talliars of poligars inhabiting 'the woods', or wooded districts, were reported to be 'killing and robbing all they could meet with' (*E.F.*, II, Madras; M.R., 1672–8, 14, 73; 1 F.S.G., 53; 17 F.S.G., last section, 27).

to defy all the Eastern powers.[1] He also showed the contempt in which he held the news, continually received, that the Dutch were returning with powerful reinforcements. If he had to fear anything, it was the lack of food, for the Moors, as well as the English, had closed the roads to St. Thomé. I was the only resource in this plight, which obliged me quite against my inclinations to cultivate the goodwill of the English Governor with all sorts of civilities, for fear he might stop the channel by which I poured out an incessant stream of provisions, namely, the privilege I had of passing all sorts of things by night through an out-of-the-way gate which led into the open country.[2] It was often a sort of pastime to me to see the obstruction of some Englishmen and Portuguese, who were jealous and furious at the service I was rendering my nation to the best of my ability. They went incessantly to whisper in the ear of the English Governor that he was wrong to allow me to do this, and that it was in defiance and contempt of his orders and prohibitions. Very often, however, the Governor himself gave me a hint to work more secretly, and thus remove all cause of complaint from these vile and low people.

Friday, 14 *July*. This morning the commandant of the Dutch at Pulicat passed three leagues inland with an escort of 500 lascarins on his way by land to Sadras, where their fleet had withdrawn after having missed our Viceroy's ship at Pondicherry.[3] In passing he stopped at the Moor camp, where he expected to be received with great honour, but General Baba Sahib would not even see him and much slighted him, as it was this officer who had written to the court of Golconda that their fleet had left St. Thomé, because the Moor army had kept quiet in camp without approaching or attempting any enterprise against the French.[4] The generals had

[1] Both Martin (I, 498) and the *Journal* (II, 80) say that the review took place on 11 July; Carré probably heard of it on the 13th. As to the number of French soldiers and sailors found to be in the town, cf. *n.* 1 at p. 571 *ante*.

[2] In corroboration of this, Martin (I, 498) says that about this time the Governor, in reply to de la Haye's complaints of his rigorous attitude, pointed out that he did not prevent the inhabitants of Madras from bringing provisions to them circuitously.

[3] Cf. *n.* 1 at p. 574 *ante*. According to the *Journal* (II, 81) 20 Dutch vessels were at Sadras, where there had been a Dutch factory from 1647 (*S.M.*, II, 115*n*).

[4] The *Journal* (II, 82) says that about this time Pavillon, the Dutch chief, had left Pulicat with 50 Dutch soldiers and 600 'blacks' for Sadras, whither Rijkloff had called him for consultation; and that on his way he passed Baba Sahib's camp and had a long conference with him.

received complaints about this from the court and replied that it was the Dutch themselves who were the cause of their not attacking St. Thomé. They had seen how the whole fleet of the Dutch had retired far out to sea at the first salvo from St. Thomé and did not dare to approach the land again, except in boats which they sent at night some distance above St. Thomé, like the cowards that they were. And finally they had shown extreme cowardice in front of everyone by allowing a single French vessel [the *Breton*] to rout their fleet, shatter all [*sic*] their ships and kill their principal officers.

Saturday, 15 *July*. Owing to the continual complaints and notices received by the Viceroy that our soldiers from St. Thomé were creating great disorders at Madras and were deserting every day, he published an order in the square at St. Thomé, forbidding anyone, on pain of death, from going to Madras without a permit signed by himself.[1] This had the good effect of steadying our men, who were fleeing on every side to the Dutch, English, and Moors, and thus, in disregard of the glory and reputation they had acquired by all their fights and their admirable defence of St. Thomé, were going to stain themselves with the lowest infamy and fall into the most wretched misery.

Sunday, 16 *July*. I visited the English Governor, who showed great pleasure at the Viceroy's orders that our French were not to come to Madras; but what worried him more than the disorders they created there was the fact that the Moors were strongly pressing him not to suffer any Frenchman in Madras. This day I inspired him with such confidence in me that he let me read all the letters and other documents that he had received from Europe by their ships at Masulipatam. I sent word of these afterwards to the Viceroy at St. Thomé. Among others there was a letter of lamentation from the Dutch burgomaster of Amsterdam, a friend of the English Governor. He wrote in confidence to him of the desolation of Holland, and exhorted him to pray for the Calvinist religion and sect, as these were expiring in their country after the splendid conquests of the invincible monarch of France, who had entered with triumph into their principal towns. His Majesty's first act was to go to their churches with his bishops, who blessed them and filled them with Papist images. He also had Masses sung during the whole day, as was done before their liberty, or rather

[1] The *Journal* (II, 82) confirms this under date 16 July.

before they had shaken off the yoke of the Catholic king.[1] This, said the Dutchman, they felt much more than the loss of their country.

Monday, 17 *July*. The Dutch at Pulicat suffered a severe loss by an accidental fire, which destroyed half the town. Upon this the Brahmans and other local Hindus, the most superstitious people in the world, assembled their priests to debate what such an accident betokened. They found and published that it was an infallible augury of the future ruin and downfall of the Dutch, who had rendered themselves so obnoxious by their arrogance and insupportable pride that they were detested in the whole Orient, as well as in Europe.

Tuesday, 18 *July*. We were warned that the General Baba Sahib was transporting all the cannon in his camp to Poonamallee, a fortress of the King of Golconda, two days journey inland; and that he was sending all the baggage and useless people out of his camp, from which the general was also going to retire, once he had evacuated the rest of his soldiers. This he did little by little at night, for fear we should get wind of his plans, so that General [Trimbak] Bussora alone remained behind in the Moor camp, which he did not dare leave without express orders from the court. This caused him great anxiety, as though he still had more than 6,000 men with him, the very name of our Viceroy was so redoubtable to him that he did not consider himself to be safe even in the middle of his own camp.

Wednesday, 19 *July*. The English in Madras saw the benefit to their Company in India by the arrival of the ten ships which had been sent from England in spite of the war with Holland. They made great rejoicings and had a great fête in Madras to let all the country know that neither the war, nor anything else, could interrupt their commerce, which certainly seemed flourishing. This is because their principal factories have chiefs, who are well versed in trade and understand the method of dealing with oriental merchants. Besides all this they keep an order and admirable discipline in the administration of their business, without any cheating or other aims than the good of their Company, which allows

[1] The yoke in question must refer to the Spanish rule of the Netherlands, and not to the earlier rule of members of the house of Burgundy (1384–1482). The forces of Louis XIV under Marshal Turenne had had a successful campaign in Holland in the latter part of 1672.

them certain privileges and concessions as a reward for their care and work. They are quite content with these and make use of them with prudence, each according to his rank and employment.[1] They have all the power in this place, Madras, including the administration of justice and the levy of customs on all goods, subject to the payment of a considerable annual sum to the King of Golconda.[2] With all this they have a method of government which makes them loved and esteemed by all the natives of the country.

On the following days the Hindus, and generally all the natives of the place, who lived only for the time when they would be at liberty to show their inclination and zeal to serve the French, noticed that the Moors were retreating and vacating their camp, bent solely on removing their baggage as quickly as possible. They therefore ignored the prohibitions and orders of the English, and instead of going as usual into Madras, dispersed at night in the country-side, to take all their commodities and provisions to St. Thomé. Its market accordingly began to be full of all sorts of good provisions in abundance, which relieved the place for a little time.

Notwithstanding all these things which favoured the well-being of our town, the Viceroy still kept all his people on duty, and did not discontinue the work on outer fortifications, which were being built without intermission.

Sunday, 23 July. The English Governor at Madras, seeing the prospect of our affairs succeeding, sent to St. Thomé to congratulate our Viceroy on our enemies having begun to abandon the field which had furnished so many palms and laurels to our nation. Our Viceroy replied that all the glory and the great advantages on which the Governor had flattered him, would not make him relax either the night-watches or the works which he had set up to render the place defensible against any enemy that might appear, having no faith in a nation without honour such as the Moors, whose ruses and tricks he knew by bitter experi-

[1] This statement needs qualification. The East India Company's records show that its servants were often dissatisfied with the limitations placed on their private trade, while the Company in its turn frequently complained of illicit traffic in diamonds, etc. (e.g. *Ct. Min.*, 1671–3, 54; 1677–9, 101, 195).

[2] This statement is correct. The Nawab of Golconda had tried to get a Golconda official installed at Madras, as there was at Pulicat (cf. *n.* 4 at p. 374 *ante*), but the Agent and Council had resisted the attempt and it was given up in 1672 (*E.F.*, II, Madras, 1670–2; cf. Love, I, 343).

ence.[1] I had informed the Viceroy that the English Governor still retained some of our Frenchmen in his service, so a civil letter was written, asking him for their return. This made the Governor very annoyed with me, and he was so unwilling to accede to the request that I was able to send back only one Frenchman, and that was allowed in a very unpleasant manner.

Wednesday, 26 July. A small Dutch vessel coming from Ceylon appeared in the offing before St. Thomé. The Viceroy at once sent out our two small ships, which chased the vessel to the Pulicat Lake. There she escaped, and our two ships returned the following night to reanchor in the St. Thomé roadstead.[2]

I fell ill at Madras about this time, and the Viceroy sent to invite me to St. Thomé, where he had prepared a room for me in his house, the air being much better there than at Madras. I could not, however, bring myself to leave my lodgings, which were full of provisions and grain. I could not take them away all at once because, though we had access to the open country, the English would not relax their strict watch to let nothing pass to St. Thomé by the seashore. This was a direct short road without any obstacles, whereas otherwise I should be obliged to transport all my provisions little by little by way of the country; in doing so there was a river to cross, and this gave much trouble to my coolies, who carried everything on their heads.

Saturday, 29 July. Pattamars now arrived at Madras from Golconda with letters for the Viceroy and the Moors. The Viceroy's were letters from our envoy, announcing his departure from Golconda and how he had been made to go to Masulipatam before returning to St. Thomé.[3] The other letters for the Moors and particular merchants in Madras advised that the court at Golconda had finally decided to recall the rest of the Moor army and to abandon the country round St. Thomé, after having learnt of the affront the Dutch had suffered there and of their rout by the Viceroy's single ship, which all their forces had been unable to prevent from re-entering the place. They also said that General [Trimbak]

[1] Thus the *Journal* (II, 85) records that on 25 July the Viceroy degraded and banished from the town a Portuguese soldier on sentry duty, whom he had found asleep in making his rounds.

[2] The *Journal* (II, 85) mentions this incident under date 27 July, saying that the two French ships, *Guillot* and *St. Denis*, returned on the 28th.

[3] This agrees with Martin's statement (I, 500). Cf. also p. 555 *ante*.

Bussora was ordered to stay in his camp, not for any enterprise, but to obviate a great inconvenience of which the English had warned the court. They had sent word that, if this country was abandoned, the French would become irresistible there, should they combine with the 20,000 Talliars, a people living like savages, cut off from all connexion with the towns, and having retreats in the woods and mountains, who only sought the opportunity of joining the French; it would, therefore, be wiser to have a good number of troops in their camp, to keep both parties in check. This counsel was approved of by the court of Golconda, and orders were sent to General Bussora to stay in camp with his troops, whom he might expect to be reinforced by others sent him in a short time.

Sunday, 30 *July*. Our French in St. Thomé, seeing that the English did not abate their rigour in preventing any provisions from coming by the coast-route, seized 2,000 sheep, which they found in the neighbouring country. The owners in Madras at once complained to the Governor of the French having removed their animals, and he sent for me to protest against it. I told him that I would write about it to the Viceroy, who, I expected, would no doubt return them after he had assured himself that the sheep did not belong to the Moors. I also said that I was not surprised at our French taking beasts which they found grazing on their lands, because both the English at Madras on the one side, and the Moors on the other, closed the roads to all provisions.[1] The words 'their lands' shocked the Governor so deeply that he could not help showing me his annoyance. He said haughtily that the French were not so well established in their conquest to boast about it and to say that they owned the lands. As I wanted his goodwill, I did not irritate him any more; besides, the Viceroy daily begged me in his letters above everything else to keep on good terms with the Governor.[2]

[1] The *Journal* (II, 86) mentions the seizure on 29 July of a herd of 1,000 sheep, 300 of which were returned to the Governor of Madras on 1 August. Martin (I, 501) also refers to it. Correspondence on the subject in the India Office records shows that the sheep were seized at Egmore, about two miles from Madras (*E.F.*, II, Madras; 17 F.S.G., 36–7).

[2] Martin (I, 513) condemns Carré for not being politic enough in his interviews with the Governor of Madras, but this and similar cases (e.g. at pp. 578, 584) show that the Abbé could restrain his natural vexation at the latter's attitude to the French.

Monday, last day of July. A high officer from the Moor camp came to visit the English Governor on the subject of the sheep seized by the French, including some which persons in Madras had sent to their camp, so that both, being sufferers from this loss, joined together to try and get redress. The English Governor took their part, and called all those interested, as well as the principal Hindus and merchants, to his consultation with the Moor envoy. He actually incited the assembly to do the worst they could against the French, and it was resolved to pillage everything they found going to St. Thomé on any of the roads. The Governor for his part redoubled the guards on the coast-roads, with such strict orders to let nothing pass that two or three poor old Hindu women, taking a little rice and flour for their children in St. Thomé, were dragged without pity through the streets of Madras by a troop of rascally Portuguese soldiers.

The guardian of the gate through which I passed my provisions came to warn me that the Governor had sent for him and ordered him no longer to let anything through without a note under his hand. The good man's warning was not the chief cause of my anxiety, for he and all his lascarins were so devoted to me that they could refuse me nothing. They managed my affairs with such skill and affection that I could wish for no better help; but what really troubled me were the ambushes that were laid in all parts of the country and at the river-crossings, which I could foretell only with immense difficulty.

The Rev. Capuchin Father Ephraim, who was excessively inclined to favour the English instructions, and even those of the Moors,[1] came to see me about the sheep and inveighed against our French. He represented that the plains of St. Thomé were the best land and pasturage in the country; and that they had been continuously regarded as a common for all local cattle from the time of the Portuguese and ever since the Moors were masters of them. 'This was all very well in that time, my Revd. Father,' I replied, 'because the Portuguese, these Moors, and the people of Madras,

[1] De la Haye, in a letter to the King of France, said: 'Father Ephraim has made himself commissary of the English, and I consider him to be more Moor than French' (Delort, *Revue Maritime, &c.*, XLVII, 452). Martin (I, 412) on the contrary says that 'suspicion of the ill intentions of the Rev. Fathers is unjust; they have always been good Frenchmen and have rendered all the services they could'.

were then on good terms; but so long as we are at war with the local people, and those at Madras refuse us food or any help, as they do, I consider that we French are quite right not to allow their cattle to graze on our lands.' Consequently, the good Father, seeing I could not agree with his sentiments, left me in great anger, although I had not provoked it. I had only defended the righteous cause of our French as to the rough and unjust proceedings that were continually being taken against them. All this plainly showed the deep baseness and cowardice of the English and Portuguese, who preferred the interests of a nation that was the enemy of Christianity to those of their ally.

Tuesday, 1 *August*. This morning I received yet another visit from the Rev. Father Ephraim, on a subject which I fully expected, seeing the uproar prevalent in Madras against our French. Though the Governor by certain civil compliments he had sent me several times had obliged me to leave the town, as my living there gave them too much worry and jealousy [p. 573], it seemed he was not pleased that I had retired to the suburb, where no Englishman could have any knowledge of my doings. For I was among Hindus, pariahs, Portuguese, and similar kinds of people. I also passed as a stranger, who had nothing to do with the French at St. Thomé, as I gave them all—Moors, Hindus, and everyone else, who came daily to visit me—to understand that I was a business man of the French Company, and had no intercourse or dealing with those who were at war with them. This dispelled any suspicions that I would injure them, especially as I was living in their midst. However, this good Capuchin Father began with a very ambiguous discourse, telling me that both Moors and merchants, even Viranna, the most powerful one in the town, had complained to him that there were people in Madras who were laying in stores of food and munitions to send to St. Thomé. He said he was very glad to be able to warn me, so as to prevent any misfortune befalling me from the Moors, who had threatened to pillage the storehouses. I saw at once that the Father did not wish to let me know that it was the English Governor who had sent him to pay me this compliment. I told him frankly that I saw only too well the origin of the anxiety which he pretended to have for my interests, and that I had no insults to fear unless from the English, as I was well assured that the Moors and merchants, far from wishing to worry me, were every day giving me their ser-

vices. As for the important merchant Viranna, I was just going to send one of my servants to him to ask if it was he who was threatening me, as I could not believe it after the offers of friendship and services I had lately received from him in the interests of our Viceroy and all us French. Finally this Father, vexed at having asserted what was contrary to the truth, earnestly begged me not to send to Viranna, now denying that he had anything to do with the affair. I then said to him: 'My Reverend Father, take whatever side you wish; you will not alarm or frighten me. See here,' and I showed him my six servants, two Christians and four Hindus, who never quitted me, and my arms-rack, well furnished with good and fine weapons: 'This is how I will receive any one who dares to come here to insult me.' So this Father retired very dissatisfied with his visit, as he had been with the one he had paid me on the preceding day.

Wednesday, 2 August. The Hindus celebrated the funeral of one of their principal men with great ceremonies and a profusion of different kinds of exquisite liquors, which were poured on the pyre.[1] The wretched corpse was accompanied by one of his wives to a cruel death. She threw herself into the middle of the blazing flames, and while the two were being burnt, all the caste mourners gave vent to howls and an appalling uproar round the fire, with strange ceremonies and superstitions.[2] These Hindus are not so austere and rigorous in their religion as are those in Indostan [Hindustan]. The latter might be styled 'reformed' [MS. *reformez*], because they observe their law and follow their rules and ancient customs—eating neither flesh, nor fish, nor anything that has had life, nor even any food that has been touched by persons of another caste.[3] They make much fuss and perform a hundred rites

[1] We have not traced any other authority as to pouring 'exquisite liquors' on a funeral pyre. Dubois (42, 492) merely refers to a sprinkling of ghee and *panchagavia* (the five products of a cow). In cases of *sati* Tavernier, *Travels*, II, 168, mentions the throwing of pots of oil and other inflammable drugs on the pyre, and Bowrey (38) that of combustible things such as dry faggots, oil, and butter.

[2] Bowrey (38) mentions musical instruments being played 'accompanied with shouting in such measure that not one screach of the woman in torment co[u]ld be heard'. Peter Mundy, in his excellent description of a *sati* with an illustration of one (II, 34–6), also speaks of spectators 'makeinge all the noyse they can to drowne her voyce'.

[3] Carré apparently means that this class of Hindus had revived ancient rules of purity, which had been neglected; and he compares it with a religious order, whose ancient discipline had been restored. This is the primary religious sense

to purify whatever they wish to eat, before cooking it; and even in their meals, they put on one side portions for particular purposes, some destined for crows, some for their temples or to be buried under sacred trees, while they scatter others among birds, when they are washing their bodies and doing similar ceremonies,[1] which these other Hindus, who are moderate [MS. *mitigez*], do not observe. The last eat anything with the exception of the cow, which is a sacred animal and held in great veneration amongst them.[2] On the death of one of their caste, his principal wife is not obliged to die by burning herself alive with him, if she has had children or has passed the age of thirty-five years.[3] On the whole they are an intelligent [MS. *spirituel*] people, of a gentle and affable nature, but tricky and very clever in business, the whole of which in these parts is in their hands.

There are also on this coast many other kinds of natives, such as Talliars, Malabars [Tamils], Pariahs, Cheriperes, and other castes too numerous to mention. The Talliars, as I have already shown [pp. 583, 589], are bandits, who live quite apart from other

in which *reformé* was then used: it is unlikely that he used the word in its secondary sense of 'Protestant', 'Calvinist', etc., as in the eyes of the Roman Catholic church these were only *prétendus reformés* (*Dictionnaire de l'Academie Françoise*, 5th edn., 1814, pt. 2, p. 447).

[1] Dubois (186) says remnants of food are thrown to crows and dogs. The reason is that prepared food is never kept by most Hindus for later consumption: cf. *Apastamba*, S.B.E., II, p. 62, para. 17, that 'prepared food which has stood for a night must neither be eaten nor drunk'.

[2] Cf. Dubois (193, 194) as to Sudras eating meat openly, but not cow-flesh. The majority of Hindus at Madras were Sudras (ibid. 16).

[3] Tavernier, *Travels*, II, 163, and Dubois, 364*n*, speak of widows with children not being permitted to commit *sati*; but we have not ascertained any texts exempting a widow, if she had children or had passed the age of 35. Nor does Penzer, ed. Tawney's translation of the *Katha Sarit Sagara* (Ocean of Story), IV, App. I, pp. 255 *seq.*, in his full discussion of the subject, refer to any such exemption. If this existed at Madras, it was, therefore, probably based on local custom. Thus the following case seems to imply at any rate a local opinion that a childless widow might commit *sati* more appropriately than one with living issue by her deceased husband. When Kasi Viranna died on 28 March (O.S.) 1680, the Fort St. George diary (M.R., 1680–1, 20) records that 'by his last wife . . . now living he hath noe child, and therefore she would have burnt with him, but the [Moor] governour would not suffer it'. The Hindu authorities at most recommended the practice of *sati*, and no one prescribed it as compulsory. It was supposed to be done with the widow's full consent, and in the Mughal territories not without the permission of the Governor of the place (Bernier, 163; Tavernier, *Travels*, II, 163; Mundy, II, 35).

men. The Malabars, who are mostly Christians,[1] work on the land and gardens and cultivate trees such as cumquot,[2] arrack, etc. They are a docile people, hard workers, and very useful to the country. The Pariahs are poor people who do the lowest and hardest work, and are put to all sorts of employment. Besides these there is still a lower caste, the Cheriperes, who are so much beneath the others that they dare not enter into a house, and have no dwellings for themselves and their wives and children but under trees, a little way off in the country. They live, like dogs, on all sorts of things, eating dead beasts and filth of the town thrown into the gutters.[3] The seafaring people are also of two kinds—one called Patnavars, who own large boats called piphlis, used to load merchandise on board ships,[4] the others, called Tuacouas,[5] have only catamarans, which are three pieces of wood tied together; in these two nude

[1] Bowrey (41) speaks of many Pariahs being converted to the Christian faith by the Portuguese priests and Jesuits; and this must apply equally to the Tamils, who were for instance among the converts of the two Capuchin Fathers at Madras, and for whom they opened a Tamil school (Manucci, IV, 277, 278; cf. Churchill's *Voyages*, I, 279, where Navarette says they kept a Malabar master to instruct the natives). Fryer (I, 107) says the Portuguese Papists at Madras 'compass sea and land to make proselytes, many of the natives being brought in by them'.

[2] The fruit of *citrus japonica*, a miniature orange (*Hobson-Jobson*, 280).

[3] Sir Frederick Sayers informs us that *Cheripara* is at present a term applied to a low stratum of Pariahs living in small settlements (*cheri*) in and on the outskirts of Madras. They are usually scavengers. Thurston (VI, 86–7) gives the form *Paracheri* as the dwelling place of Pariahs. Dr. Barnett suggests that, if the Abbé's transliteration is correct, the word may be 'cheri-peran' or 'he who belongs to the *cheri* or pariahs' quarter.'

[4] *Patnavar* probably represents the Tamil word *Pattanavar*, which means literally 'dwellers in the town' and is applied to fishermen that live in towns, as distinct from those along the coast (Love, I, 119*n*, with reference to a document which shows 'Patnavarrs' to have been a caste existing in Madras in 1652). The 'Patanava' caste is also mentioned in Madras in 1686 (M.R., 1686–92, 5; Wheeler, 155). The word 'piphli' is an unsolved riddle. There is no known Tamil, or other vernacular, word like it for any kind of boat.

[5] We have not found any name for seafaring people likely to represent 'Tuacouas'. A possible surmise is that this word is a mistake for 'Macouas', Carré's 'M' in rough notes being misread by him for 'Tu', which has some similarities to the former. It would then correspond to the corruption 'Macquaus', which appears in India Office records of this period for the *Mukkuva* boatmen at Madras. Against this, however, is the fact that they generally used the surf-boats called 'mussoolas' (cf. Bowrey, p. 43; *Hobson-Jobson*, 592–3, quotations of 1677 and 1760), and not catamarans, as stated by Carré.

men spend all the day in the open sea to catch fish, which abound on this coast.

Hindus are also distinguished among themselves according to their business and employment. The Chettys are the most important of all merchants.[1] The Comtis are shopkeepers, who sell all sorts of grain, vegetables, spices, butter, oil, and other similar articles.[2] The Pallis are painters, who do the designing and tracing of the first lines in the manufacture of printed calicoes and stuffs.[3] Gavarais are the weavers, who work only with the right hand, and are more esteemed than the other callings,[4] such as the goldsmiths, carpenters, and blacksmiths, who work with the left hand.[5] These last, as well as the Chettys, have an inveterate habit that, if one of them is offended or wronged, all the others shut their shops and

[1] 'Chetty' represents Tamil *chetti*, a member of the trading castes in S. India corresponding in every way to the Bania of W. and N. India (*Hobson-Jobson*, 189; Thurston, II, 91).

[2] 'Comtis' are the Komatis (from Telegu, *komati*, a trader) who form a large proportion of the shopkeeping class in Madras (Thurston, III, 306).

[3] The MS. has *Palis*, as at p. 560 *ante*. We have not traced any caste in S. India called Pāli, and Carré presumably refers to the Pallis, who (as noted at p. 560) are now mainly agriculturists. A section may have been 'painters' at Madras in 1673; but a Madras document of 1654, which speaks of a dispute between 'the Painters and a Pallee', points the other way (*E.F.*, 1651–4, 238; Love, I, 140). A list of castes at Madras in 1686 also shows a 'Painter' caste distinct from the 'Pally' caste (M.R., 1686–92, 5). On the other hand in modern times the Pallis have assumed the title of Mudaliyar (Oppert, 99, *n.* 92), which was also used by chief 'painters' of the Malabar (Tamil) caste in 1680 (M.R., 1680–1, 75, 86).

[4] There is a caste called Gavara in the Vizagapatam district, but the members are agriculturists (Thurston, II, 277). The name 'Gavarai' may be a misspelling of 'Kavarai', which is now the Tamil name for Balijas (a Telegu trading caste) settled in the Tamil country (Thurston, III, 263). This surmise is supported by a reference to cloth-merchants, weavers, and others, at Madras as 'Baljawares' (i.e. *balijavāru*, the plural of *balijavādu*, a man of the Balija caste) in a letter of Lingappa, the tarafdar (governor) of the district, in 1680 (28 F.S.G., last section, 234; cf. similar references cited in Love, I, 120, 124–5), and by a judgment of the Judge of Chingleput in 1809, which mentions Kavarais as weavers, who belonged to the right-hand castes (Oppert, 64*n*, item 48).

[5] As to the dispute between the right-hand and the left-hand castes, see Love, I, 118–25; Oppert, 61–6. The five classes of artisans—carpenters, goldsmiths, blacksmiths, braziers, and masons—well known in S. India as *Pancalar* or *Kammalar*, are all members of the left-hand section, as stated by Carré (Oppert, 58–9, 64–5*n*; Dubois, 25).

abandon all their work and business.[1] Moors are not numerous here and do not mix much with the others. They have lived on this coast only since they chased out the Portuguese,[2] and they are not liked by the natives of the country, as they are by nature and inclination quite opposed to the Hindu manner of life.

The air is very healthy on the whole coast, and the country is fertile and abounding in every kind of ~~ric~~h merchandise, which are manufactured in all the surrounding villages. Food is very cheap: five pounds of rice for 3 sols [3*d.*]—I say rice, because it is the principal food of these people, as wheat is in Europe; three dozen fowls for an écu [4*s.* 6*d.*]; the largest pig costs 30 sols [2*s.* 6*d.*]; a sheep or goat 20 sols [1*s.* 8*d.*]; butter, wheat, vegetables, herbs, fruit, fish and other such provisions are to be had in abundance.[3]

The English in Madras mint money of three sorts, pagodas, fanams, and cash. The pagoda is a small gold coin, stamped only with the figure of a Hindu idol on one side, and is worth 2 écus [9*s.*].[4] The fanam is another little coin, half gold, half silver, marked with some Hindu characters; each is worth 3 sols and a liard [half a farthing]; 18 go to the écu.[5] The cash is the smallest

[1] Instances of this are the general strikes of the two divisions over disputes between them in 1652 (Love, I, 120), and the virtual mutiny by them about the proposed tax for defensive purposes in 1686 (M.R., 1686–92, 3–7; Wheeler, 150–6).

[2] Carré is mistaken here. Muslims had lived on the Coromandel coast at least from the early part of the fourteenth century, when the rule of the Tughluq dynasty at Delhi extended to this part of India (*C.H.I.*, III, 123, and map opposite p. 144; *J.R.A.S.*, 1909, 668–70; Ibn. Battuta, *Travels*, 1325–54, ed. 'The Broadway Travellers', 261–4). The Muslim power was then ousted for a couple of centuries by the Hindu rule of Vijayanagar till it was restored by Mir Jumla on behalf of the Golconda state in 1646–7; but Muslims undoubtedly remained on the coast in this interval.

[3] In the prices shown in brackets, the *sol* is taken as equivalent to 1*d.*: they should be slightly less, according to the valuation of the *sol* at 0·9*d.* in Tavernier, *Travels*, I, 328.

[4] The Hindu idol on the pagoda was a rude figure of the god Vishnu, with rays emanating from his person; this appeared on the obverse, the reverse being plain (Love, I, 195). Its value varied between 8*s.* and 9*s.* Bowrey (51, 114), and Fryer (I, 96; II, 132) give the value as 8*s.*; but in 1675 the English Company found this rate inconvenient, and ordered it to be taken as 9*s.* (*E.F.*, II, Madras; 5 L.B., 217; *S.M.*, I, 254).

[5] The fanam was struck in gold containing a large proportion of alloy, and was generally valued at 3*d.* (Love, I, 194). 36 fanams nominally went to a pagoda (ibid.), so Carré's reckoning is correct on the basis; but the bazar rate of exchange was usually lower (ibid.). Thus Fryer (II, 132) reckons the rate at 32 to a pagoda, and in 1678 it was 34½ (M.R., 1678–9, 79; Love, I, 505).

coin for the use of the populace and poor folk. They are small pieces of copper, and 120 go to a fanam.[1] The pagoda is accepted all over the country in the kingdoms of Golconda and Bijapur, and on the Malabar coast. Fanams and cash are current only in Madras and neighbouring places.[2]

Thursday, 3 *August*. The English Governor sent to notify me that there were five of our French in the town, who had come from St. Thomé without permission: their committing a disturbance in the house of a townsman had compelled him to have them arrested and put in the Fort, as in such cases I had prayed him to do. I begged the English officer who had come with the news to be good enough to bring one of these Frenchmen to my lodging with all their arms, as I was ill in bed and could not go and thank the Governor personally. As soon as the man arrived at my rooms, I recognised him as one of those who were on guard in the advanced redoubt outside St. Thomé. He told me that the other four were his companions, and I sent him to summon them. I gave them a severe reprimand, and represented to them the peril in which they put their lives by coming here aganist the strict orders of the Viceroy. They then swore to me that they had not come with the intention of deserting, but only to fetch some arrack, the local spirit, and other refreshments; and that, as they came at night, no one had seen them. I still blamed them strongly, and stated the impossibility of their taking anything away with them, on account of the strict prohibitions and vigilance of the English and the people of Madras, who kept watch on every side

[1] The copper cash was generally reckoned at 80 (not 120) to a fanam (Love, I, 194; Bowrey, 114); but here again the bazar rate was usually lower—thus in 1678 it was 74 to a fanam (M.R., 1678–9, 111). Streynsham Master in that year (ibid. 138) passed orders so that a single cash might go at 126 to a fanam, which is nearer Carré's figure of 120. The right of minting coins, without paying any dues, was conferred by the original Naik's grant of Madras territory in 1639 (Love, I, 17, 193); and pagodas, fanams, and cash, appear to have been coined accordingly from the early days of the settlement. Presumably both 'single' and 'treble' cash were being coined in 1673, as in 1678, when 'double' cash were ordered to be substituted for the 'treble' ones (M.R., 1678–9, 138).

[2] These statements are correct, and in 1678 Master's orders mentioned in the preceding note were intended to make the fanam and cash 'pass more currant, farther into the country', fanams having risen to 36 for a pagoda, though the mint gave them at 34½, 'because they passed currant only in this towne [Madras] when great quantities have been returned out of the countrys adjacent' (M.R. 1678–9, 111, 112).

to prevent any food getting into St. Thomé. However, seeing that these five men had done good service, I did not wish to frighten them too much, for fear they might be unwilling to return to their post. I kept them in my lodging and regaled them with all they could have found in any other place to eat and drink. Finally, to encourage them to return, I had some provisions prepared for them, which I found means to pass through with them; and I sent them back at night to their redoubt, which they entered without noise or any mishap.

Friday, 4 August. Two cavalry captains from the Moor camp, who came to Madras on some business, in passing down the street where I lived, stopped before my door, with their followers all on horseback. They looked fixedly at my lodging, as if they sought someone there with whom to speak. One of my servants asked them what they wanted, to which they replied that they wished to have an interview with a French merchant, who they heard lived in the house. My servant came back to tell me this, and I sent to say that they were welcome; so that, when they had dismounted, I received them very civilly and made them sit down on carpets, which I had spread for them in my room. I saw that their interpreter, who spoke a little Portuguese, had difficulty in translating, and did not properly understand the sense of what we wanted to say to one another: so I spoke to them in Persian, at which one of the captains, who understood it a little, was enchanted, as it allowed him to speak openly and frankly to me.

He then told me that, having heard from a powerful merchant in Madras that I was a private Frenchman and business man, who might interest himself in the affairs of St. Thomé and the Moors, he had visited me to reveal his sentiments and seek my help in furthering the good intentions he had towards the French, with a view to finding the means for a reconciliation between them. He begged me first of all to send them a good French surgeon to look after one of their camp-marshals, who had been badly wounded by two musket-balls, saying that the English had sent them a man who was quite ignorant and could do nothing for him. To this I replied that, if the officer could come to Madras, I promised to obtain a surgeon from St. Thomé, who would treat him either in my lodgings or in any other place he wanted; but that I did not think the Viceroy would allow him to go into their camp. He then gave me a complete account of all the affairs in their camp,

which was in a state of terrible dismay from want of reinforcements and money. He also told me that their general was very irritated against the English, who had written to the court of Golconda that the remains of their army ought to stay in the camp, in order to prevent more progress by the French. He said that they could not restrain their troops, who were running away on every side, as they could not bear the misery to which they were reduced without any pay or rewards for more than one year, and that this had caused them very considerable losses. All these misfortunes were due, he said, to the knavery and blandishments of the Dutch, who had beguiled the [Golconda] court for six months and had corrupted the chief ministers with large sums of money, in order to prevent its coming to any peace with the French. He then revealed that he and the other captain were on the point of withdrawing from the Moor army, and suggested that, if the Viceroy wished to buy 100 fine horses, he would sell them very cheaply and deliver them either at Madras or on the plain outside St. Thomé. I promised this cavalier that I would reply to everything in four days' time, and would do all I could with the Viceroy, whom both the captain and his troop held in great esteem. They praised him to the skies, saying that such a man had never been seen in the East before—so terrible, so redoubtable, and so glorious was he in all his enterprises. Accordingly, after two good hours' conversation, they left very satisfied and gave me their word that they would return in the time I had indicated.

Notwithstanding the war, the interference of the Moors, and the rigorous proceedings of the English against us, the population in St. Thomé continued to increase every day in a surprising manner. All the Portuguese and Christian ladies in the neighbourhood, having seen something of the French way of living and the honest freedom which wives had with them, tried by every means to get a Frenchman for a husband, without troubling themselves as to his quality and condition of life. Consequently I and the Capuchin Fathers were importuned every day by these ladies. They came to beg us for help with such touching supplications that I could not refuse what they wished, in view of our Viceroy's great satisfaction with this means of keeping our French in the town and of stopping vice in the garrison. What amazed me greatly was that, when any of our soldiers went to Madras, few returned to St. Thomé without being betrothed, as they found

mistresses and wives on the first visit to these ladies. I warned some of them who came to see me about their marriage, laden with gold chains, jewels and valuable trinkets, that the men they wished to marry were only common soldiers, who had little and could not support a family; but nothing I could say had any effect. They replied with a joyful and satisfied air that they had seen their gallants, who were well set up and French—that was all that they wanted to content them.

Sunday, 6 *August*. One of these Christian ladies, a widow, who had come from Masulipatam to Madras about the time the officers of our Company arrived at St. Thomé [Jan. 1673: p. 483], and who was living very quietly with the nuns and orphans of the Capuchin Fathers, sent one day to ask me for the loan of my palanquin and to get her a pass to go to St. Thomé with all her baggage and provisions for her wedding. The Capuchin Fathers were sending her there to be married to the armourer of the town, who had become besotted over this woman. She had two small children about five years old, beautiful as angels, by a Frenchman at Masulipatam, who was established there before the Company came, and who had left her something at his death.

The French caught three Moors today in the plains of St. Thomé, where they were looking for forage. They were put in prison, separately from one another, so that we might discover the true state of affairs in their camp. In the evening I wrote to the Viceroy that I was now able to come to St. Thomé, to confer with him as to the proceedings of the English and other important matters.

Thursday, 8 *August*. At daybreak the Viceroy sent me some of his mounted guards and two companies of lascarins as an escort to St. Thomé. I arrived there about six o'clock in the morning and passed the day in private conversation with the Viceroy on important affairs and the precautions to be taken against any enemy ruse, as well as the jealousy and prohibitions of the English. I was to send all the food I could into the town as soon as possible, on the news that reached us daily that the Dutch were returning with a powerful fleet, on purpose to make a land attack and to recall the Moors to join them for a last effort against St. Thomé.

In the afternoon the Viceroy held a council meeting with me, the Governor [of St. Thomé], and M. Baron, to discuss another

enterprise against the enemy. The three Moor prisoners, taken the day before, were brought in one after the other and interrogated as to the state of their camp. A captain of our lascarins brought them to us, having a drawn sword in his hand with which he threatened to behead them, if they failed to disclose the least circumstance of all they were asked. The poor wretches, more dead than alive, prostrated themselves over a hundred times on the ground at the Viceroy's feet and begged for mercy. Finally they gave us a complete account of everything, and I assert that no geographer in the world could have drawn a map better than the description these miserable men gave us of their camp with a piece of charcoal on the floor of the room where we were. They showed us the places on the river where there were guards; how many men were at each post; and the manner in which they were guarded day and night. They assured us that the troops were dwindling daily by the flight of their men, which could not be prevented owing to lack of pay and want of help. In the evening I mounted a horse and accompanied the Viceroy who, after making a round of the works and fortifications on which they were engaged, went as usual for a ride all over the country, to study the dispositions of the enemy.[1]

Wednesday, 9 *August*. I passed all the morning in private consultation with the Viceroy. He wished to make me stay some days in his house to convalesce, as the air of St. Thomé is without contradiction the healthiest on the Coromandel coast; but I preferred the King's service and that of my nation to my personal gratification, thinking it better to endure some more days of sickness than to lose a moment in bringing help to the place.[2] I also wished to requite with diligence the confidence and reliance placed in my care and vigilance in so important a matter. So, having finished with the Viceroy, about ten o'clock I left for Madras. I had the honour of being accompanied by him half-way, where I took

[1] The *Journal* (II, 87) says that the Viceroy, accompanied by some volunteers, his guards, and 30 cadets, went to the villages near Madras, and told their inhabitants to bring provisions to St. Thomé, which they promised to do, assuring him they would have done it before, had not the English prohibited them under pain of death.

[2] According to the *Journal* (II, 87), the Viceroy on 9 August sent a palanquin to Madras to bring M. Carré, who had gone there to recuperate from an illness caused by his journey to Bijapur. Here again the entry may be a day late, as Carré appears to have gone to St. Thomé on the 8th and stayed the night there.

leave of him. He then went with his escort for his ride over the country-side.[1]

On arrival at Madras I went to see the English Governor and give him polite letters from the Viceroy and M. Baron, which this time he received more courteously than he did before. I think it was because of the pleasure he had in seeing the arrival of the English fleet of nine ships, which had been sighted returning from Masulipatam, and which came to anchor about two in the afternoon in the Madras roads. The Viceroy, having heard that our Golconda envoy had embarked in it at Masulipatam, sent a boat with some of his principal officers to pay a civil visit to the commodore of this English fleet, and to thank him for the courtesy he had shown our envoy on his passage.[2]

Thursday, 10 *August.* We saw a large ship out at sea coming under sail into the Madras roads. She cast anchor in the middle of the English fleet and carried the same flag. After saluting, she sent ashore a boat in which was a French sailor. I had him brought to my lodging, where I learnt that this tenth ship had come straight from England. She had left in January with this fleet for India, but had been entirely dismasted in a gale. She had, therefore, been obliged to leave the fleet and return to England. After repairs and an overhaul there, she continued her course and made a fortunate voyage quite alone, arriving at her destination, Madras, at the same time as the others.[3] This plainly shows the accuracy of the English navigation, and the difference between their commerce and that of the French, who have never been able to send a ship to India up to time nor arrange for her prompt return, whereas the English are never out more than fifteen days or three weeks in the due time for their ships' arrival in India and their return to England. They have their routes fixed and their commerce so

[1] This agrees with the *Journal* (II, 87), which says that on 9 August the Viceroy went with some garrison troops and 40 lascarins towards Madras; the majority of the latter he left at Triplicane, and then went to neighbouring villages, to tell the inhabitants to bring rice to St. Thomé.

[2] The *Journal* (II, 87–8) corroborates Carré as to the arrival of the English ships from Masulipatam on 9 August; the Viceroy sent two officers to the vessels, and at 2 p.m. they brought back M. Châteaupers, who had embarked in one at Masulipatam. Martin (I, 501–2) says much the same.

[3] This tenth ship was the *Massingberd*; Carré's statements as to her voyage out are confirmed by India Office records (*E.F.*, II, Madras; *Ct. Min.*, 1671–3, 206, 207, 209). Martin (I, 501) also gives the date of her arrival as the 10th.

regulated that they never lose a voyage and make considerable profits and wonderful progress, as I shall show more fully later on [vol. 3, ch. 1].

In the evening my two spies from the Moor camp came and gave me the news that couriers had arrived from the court of Golconda for General [Trimbak] Bussora, with orders to him to hold fast before St. Thomé in the hope they gave him that he would soon receive help both in men and money. They said that the general, however, was not contented or satisfied, as he did not rely on these promises, which the court had diverted itself by sending for a long time; and that he had even given up all hope, for the same couriers brought other letters from his dependants and friends at court, which told him that the affairs of the kingdom were very confused because of the pretensions of the Great Mughal and the King of Bijapur, two powerful enemies who were preparing for a furious war regarding the rights they claimed over the kingdom of Golconda.[1] The Moors' camp was consequently in continual alarm, and they were also always on guard, because of the night-watches and the incessant attacks we made on them.

General Bussora was, however, in great need of money to keep his troops together, and sent to borrow some from the English. This time they refused to help him, as they had had too much trouble in getting due credit for the sum they had already advanced to the Moors.[2] Not having obtained any money from the English, they had recourse to the Dutch at Pulicat, but got no better satisfaction, as the latter excused themselves owing to the absence of their chief [p. 584].

Saturday, 12 *August*, which was the first day of the new moon. The Viceroy went out before daybreak with a strong escort to lie in wait for the Moor general, who was accustomed on this day

[1] We have found no corroboration of a threat of war from the Mughals or Bijapur in 1673. The latter state was too much occupied with internal dissensions of the regents and incursions by Shivaji's troops to think of waging war on Golconda (*C.H.I.*, IV, 274–5; Sarkar, *Aurangzib*, 227, 249). As to the supposed Mughal claims against Golconda and threat of war, see pp. 488, 490*n ante*. No attack was made in 1673 by the emperor, who was engaged in fighting the Afghans (Sarkar, 142–3, 270).

[2] Cf. p. 528 *ante*, as to the objection made to the payment. The Agent and Council, however, made General Bussora a present of 150 pagodas about this time (M.R., 1672–8, 187).

to go with his elephants to the seashore to bathe, under the Moslem belief that this cleansing, which they do at each new moon, would wash away his sins and impurities.[1] The Moors, just as they were preparing to start for their ceremonies, were warned that the French were lying in ambush on the road and postponed their devotions to another new moon.

However, some of the more zealous could not let this moon pass without accomplishing their ordinary rites, so they assembled in a large throng to try to pass. Their magicians, soothsayers, musicians, and troops of dancing girls, being the most superstitious of them all, were the first to wish to accomplish their usual ceremonies, so that all this uproarious crowd came direct to the position occupied by the Viceroy, who charged into the middle of it. They were put into such disorder that few thought of defending themselves, except some horsemen, who stood firm for a little to allow the others time to escape. The Viceroy, pistol in hand, rushed his horse at full gallop at one of the horsemen, who was armed with a lance. His pistol missed fire; and the horseman, seeing this and not wishing to give the Viceroy time to draw another one, flung himself on him. As each caught the other round his body, the Viceroy would have been in great danger, if he had not had a pocket-pistol, which he cleverly managed to draw out and so dispatch his enemy, just as four other Moor horsemen attacked him. These were also laid low by a volley of musket-shots fired by our men. Some prisoners were made in this encounter, and there were many Moors wounded, who were removed to Madras, as being nearer than their own camps. Many drums, hautboys, violas, and other instruments belonging to the musicians and dancing-girls, were also taken, having been thrown away in the country to allow of a speedier escape.[2]

[1] Cf. vol. I, *n.* 2 at p. 231, as to religious Moslems bathing, when the new moon appears. The Moor general was probably Baba Sahib, who was a Muhammadan (Martin, I, 393; Love, I, 319*n*), or another one called Muhammad Salih Beg (Love, I, 354), as Trimbak Bussora was a Hindu.

[2] Both Martin (I, 502–3) and the *Journal* (II, 88–9) describe this incident, saying that the Moors were to go to a tank near Madras, and that the Viceroy sent a company of lascarins to ambuscade them *en route*, while he took some French troops to a village near Madras in support of the ambush. The Moors, probably having been warned, took another way to the tank. Thereupon (according to Martin) de la Haye pushed on to attack them with only two horsemen, and the three charged some of the enemy; he wounded one man,

Sunday, 13 *August*. Viranna, the principal merchant who governs everything at Madras,[1] sent to beg me to write to the Viceroy to give up a Hindu magician attached to his establishment, who had been made prisoner by the French in the mêlée with the Moors on the preceding day, as he was returning from one of Viranna's villages to Madras. He promised me he would render us every sort of help, if we would only send back this man, who would rather die than eat or drink anything while in the hands of the French. Their religion is so austere and superstitious that after a death they are not allowed to eat or drink in any but special places, with all their usual ceremonies.[2] I at once sent an express messenger to St. Thomé with a letter to the Viceroy, in which I told him that he would gain nothing by keeping this miserable magician, and he was immediately sent to me. This had a great effect on the merchant Viranna and the other Hindus of the town, who all promised to serve me with their utmost power, whenever I should need it. They very obligingly did this afterwards, and I made great use of their help.

The next two days I told several of these merchants that I wanted two boat-loads of vegetables, rice, and other grain, very promptly. I was served in the most compliant manner, and I spent a day and a night without rest in measuring and filling my storerooms with these things. I felt assured of two boats ordered by the Viceroy from Senhor Britto, a Madras Portuguese,[3] who had promised them for dispatching this grain; but, when I went to tell

but as the foot-soldiers could not come up quick enough, he had to retire with two prisoners, after several vigorous encounters. The *Journal* gives a similar account, saying de la Haye killed one man and brought back three others as prisoners. It adds that a troop of women was also captured, but released after they had entertained the Viceroy with dancing.

[1] The Abbé was not alone in this opinion. Thus Lawrence Sawcer, a lately arrived Company's servant, in a letter of about January 1673 (O.C. 3764, *f.* 4) wrote that Kasi Viranna was unduly influential so that the natives said: 'Sir William governs within the Fort and Verona [Viranna] without'.

[2] For ceremonial impurity entailing abstinence from food after a death, see Dubois, p. 494. The impurity involves restrictions which last ten days, ibid. p. 499. The 'magician' was probably a Brahman family-priest, who was returning from a funeral.

[3] He was probably Gaspar de Brito, who in 1678 was specially permitted by Streynsham Master to wear his sword at Madras, though he was not a British subject, and who in 1681 commanded a militia post in the Christian Town (Love, I, 433, 446).

him I was ready to load them that night, I was much surprised to receive his cold reply that he did not dare let us have them, as he was threatened by both Moors and English that the boats would be confiscated and his house pillaged, if he did anything to help the French. I found myself, therefore, much embarrassed, not knowing how I was to send all these provisions. I thought that, as the English had ten ships in the roads with quantities of boats, they might possibly have the civility to lend me some of them for my business, it taking only half an hour to go by sea from Madras to St. Thomé. I accordingly went to see the English Governor and asked him to let me have what I wanted; but he lost his temper immediately he heard of my proposition and said he absolutely forbade the passage of the least thing for St. Thomé by sea. Finding myself so rebuffed on this side, I had recourse to my merchant, Viranna, whom I found more reasonable and accommodating than these English. He made a suggestion which removed my difficulties, namely that I should ask St. Thomé to send me boats at night, and that they should go a little lower than Madras to the right of his house, which was near the seashore; there he would give directions to his people to lade the boats as if the merchandise belonged to him, so that the English would know nothing about it.

Wednesday, 16 *August*. Two hours before dawn I sent one of my servants to St. Thomé with a letter to the Viceroy, in which I informed him of all I had done in the two preceding days, and the trouble to which I was put by the refusal of the English, and the breach of faith by our Portuguese, who had disallowed me the use of his boats. I asked him, when convenient to him, to send me some at night to a place that I indicated, so that the English would not interfere with them. In the morning two important merchants came to my lodging and proposed a deal in corn, which they had in the town and which they took me to see. I asked for a sample, and sent this to the Viceroy with a report of the price and my arrangements with them, which were very advantageous to us in the present state of our affairs, as we were in need of money. These merchants were ready to take in payment some merchandise which we had in our storehouses at St. Thomé, and which had cost us nothing beyond unlading it from ships we had taken from the Moors and other people of the country.

Thursday, 17 *August*. Very early in the morning I received the

Viceroy's reply with a most civil letter for the corn merchants, to whom he promised all sorts of protection and friendship, when we should be at peace, assuring them that he would recognise the help they were giving us at a time when it was of great value to us. He impressed on me, above everything, not to fail in the transaction, as it was of the greatest importance, and said that on the following night he would not fail to send two boats to the place I had indicated, to fetch all the goods I had in my store-rooms.

If on my part I was working at Madras, the other officers at St. Thomé were taking no less trouble and care to do all they could to help affairs there. M. Baron went to-day on board the English ships to make some proposals to the commodore and the captains serving under him, for the purchase of food and munitions, and his borrowing money, to be repaid at Surat, where the English fleet was going; but the hatred and ill will of the English Governor against our nation was plainly shown here. He had resolved never to listen to anything that would be of service to the French; and on the arrival of this fleet, he had so incited all the captains and other ships' officers against our Viceroy that they did not deign to show him any civility, not even the courtesy of acknowledging the visits which the Viceroy had sent his chief officers to pay them on their arrival [p.602]. But this was a trifling matter; later on we shall see many others. The English Governor, having had wind of M. Baron's sailing from St. Thomé to go on board their ships, ordered all the officers of the fleet to come on shore, where he kept them all day, so that M. Baron found no one on board with whom he could treat about his affairs. I knew nothing at all of this matter, as the Viceroy had not made any mention of it in the three letters I received from him this very day. I was, therefore, amazed at four o'clock in the evening to hear that there was a French pin-nace by the seashore, and that I was wanted on board. I went at once and found a dozen of our sailors and a valet of M. Baron's, who gave me a letter from him that still more surprised me. It informed me that he had been on board the English ships since the morning, and begged me to give food at once to his sailors, who had been all day aboard with him without anything to eat: also to send the boat back at once to the ships, as he wished to dis-embark at eight o'clock at night, and come to my lodging without being seen, as the English Governor was so much against him that

he had refused even to see him or treat with him in any way.[1]

While I was engaged on the seashore in dispatching our French in their pinnace to the English ship to fetch M. Baron, Viranna was having a thorough search made for me for an affair which was too important to be neglected. His people eventually found me on the beach, and told me that their master had sent to ask me to go immediately to his house for an important matter which he could communicate only to me personally. This compelled me to go at once to Viranna's, after giving orders to two of my servants to make every preparation at my lodgings for the reception of M. Baron. When I arrived at this rich merchant's house, I was ushered into a secluded room, where he made me sit down on rich carpets and satin cushions, richly embroidered with gold. Viranna then brought into the room two very alert men, armed with sabres, bows and arrows, and curious richly-worked shields. They were invited to sit down beside me. 'There', said he, 'are two of the principal officers of the Moor army, who have just been sent by their General Bussora to treat with the French at St. Thomé for some settlement.' They wanted to see me first and communicate the intentions of the general. They showed me a copy of a letter which he had sent that day to the court of Gol-

[1] Carré does not mention that on 14 August Baron had an interview with Langhorn on board the English ship *London*, in which the latter refused the former's request to borrow money from the treasure on the ships intended for Surat, whither they were bound *en route* to England, the loan to be repayable there or at Bombay (*E.F.*, II, Madras; M.R., 1672–8, 17; Martin, I, 503; *Journal*, II, 90; Kaeppelin, 110). Perhaps he was unaware of this, having been so busy on that day (p. 605 *ante*). On 17 August Baron came again to the ships, hoping to make private arrangements with the commanders for such a loan, but (according to Martin, I, 504, and the *Journal*, II, 90–1) he failed to meet them, as they were all ashore. Martin (I, 504) adds that later Baron met some of them at Madras, but that they refused his request, saying they could not depart from the orders of their Company as to the disposal of the treasure they had received in England (cf. p. 611 *post*). The *Journal* (II, 90–1) says Baron landed incognito at Madras in the company of Father Ephraim. Martin contradicts Carré as to the Governor refusing to see or treat with him, for he states that, after he had landed, Baron either saw, or heard from, the Governor, who excused himself from doing anything on his request, without the participation of the commanders. He may have arranged that they should not be available, as alleged by Carré; but on the other hand he may have summoned them for business connected with the sailing-orders of the fleet (they were given the next day), and have had no knowledge of Baron's intended visit to the ships on the 17th.

conda; in this he asked the king to allow him to retire with the few troops that remained with him, and told him that it was no longer possible to do anything against St. Thomé owing to the French fortifications. While awaiting the reply to his letter, the general wanted to make a truce and have a stay of hostilities for a month with our Viceroy. They begged me earnestly to undertake this affair, from which Viranna promised me a good result for the glory of the French and the progress of our Company in this country.

It is easy to understand the joy and contentment with which I undertook so important a mission, and I promised these two Moors every sort of satisfaction, provided, as I said to them several times, that they acted without fraud and in good faith towards us, as we would do towards them. I also promised them that I would without fail send word next morning to St. Thomé about the matter.[1]

It was more than eight o'clock at night before I could get back to my lodgings, where I found enough work to last me the rest of the night in two affairs, of which one was enough to embarrass any man. The first concerned the arrival of M. Baron, who had been badly treated and was much discomposed, as he had fallen into the sea on leaving the English ship, owing to the darkness of the night, so running a great risk of losing his life. He had six of the chief officers of St. Thomé with him.[2] I found them all much occupied with the two Capuchin Fathers, who had run at once to condole with M. Baron. I could not keep them company for very long, as on my return I also found several Hindu sailors from St. Thomé, who were waiting for me. They informed me that they had brought the two boats, for which I had asked the Viceroy. I was, therefore, obliged to spend the rest of the night on the seashore with the people sent by Viranna to lade the boats. I was forced to remain until they had gone, for fear of insults or disorders from English or Portuguese soldiers.

Friday, 18 *August*. I returned to my lodgings an hour before

[1] Martin (I, 505) corroborates Carré, saying that the latter had been asked to write to de la Haye about proposals for a truce, which he had received from General Trimbak Bussora through one of the principal merchants serving the English Company.

[2] Martin (I, 503–4) and the *Journal* (II, 90) say that Baron had three officers of the St. Thomé garrison with him; and he probably had three more belonging to the French Company. Neither of them refers to Baron's mishap in falling into the sea.

dawn, and sent one of my men to St. Thomé to inform the Viceroy of what had occurred the previous evening at Viranna's house. He at once returned a civil reply, and said I could send General Bussora's envoys to St. Thomé, where they would be very well received in order to treat with them. Thereupon I returned at ten o'clock to Viranna's, where I found these two Moor officers. I showed them the Viceroy's civil and obliging letter and they both left immediately for St. Thomé. They were honourably received by the Viceroy himself, who met them on their way and took them to his house, where they had a conference on their affair, but could not agree on one point. This was of the utmost importance, namely the Viceroy insisted that the Moors should leave their camp and retire to their fortress at Poonamallee, so that all the country and roads might remain open for the importation of food during the truce asked for by the Moors. General Bussora replied that he could not abandon his camp without express orders from the court, so that the whole matter remained unsettled on both sides.

Our Viceroy, one of the most intelligent and clever men in matters of war, knew that this proposal from the Moors was an infallible mark of weakness or fear. He decided to attack them once more so fiercely that they would have no desire to trifle with him again by their pretended negotiations for a settlement. He wrote to me to observe their behaviour carefully and to report all details as often as possible, so that he could take measures for his enterprise, of which we shall hear later on [p. 618].[1]

M. Baron was still in my lodgings and he would not go out, as the English Governor would neither see, nor have any dealings with him. He, therefore, employed the intriguing Capuchin Fathers, who were agents of the English, to try if anything could be done. These Fathers accordingly brought the commodore of the English fleet to my lodgings to treat with M. Baron, who made very advantageous offers for the desired loan of money to be repaid at Surat, also for some salt meat and other stores, with

[1] Martin (I, 505–6) emphasises the point that the proposed truce was merely an attempt on the part of the Moor general to prevent his camp, which was then in a weak state of defence, from being attacked by the Viceroy before he had received powerful reinforcements, which he had heard were being sent him from Golconda. He further says that de la Haye realised this, and had some days before been preparing to attack the camp. Carré takes the same view in his letter of 22 January 1674 to Colbert.

which their ships were laden. The Englishman, however, would listen to nothing, saying his hands were tied and he could not sell anything in their ships which belonged to their Company; only the chiefs and agents of the Company could dispose of it, as they wished.[1] The Viceroy had written very civilly to the English Governor, and on the prevailing rumour that the Dutch were coming with a full force to attack the English fleet, he even offered to send the four ships we had at St. Thomé to escort them to Masulipatam, whither they wished to return. He assured the English that with this reinforcement, which was not to be despised, the Dutch would never be bold enough to attack them, and that if they did so, the Dutch would only suffer shame and ignominy, as in their attack on St. Thomé.

But these English, instead of taking our Viceroy's civility and generous offer in good part, pretended to be offended and refused all the proposals made to them. They said in reply that their fleet was quite capable of beating and destroying all the forces of the Dutch.[2] As for the small loan asked for to meet the urgent needs of His Most Christian Majesty, they replied proudly that they knew nothing about this and did not wish to meddle in French affairs; also that the trade of their Company so occupied them that they could think of nothing else just then. They asked us to leave them in peace to mind their own business. They were quite right, and one can truly say that their affluence and pride in seeing themselves so opulent had blinded them, for they had not the sense to land nine cases of gold and silver ingots, which they had in each ship. Though each case was worth £30,000, they were left in the ships, in spite of the news they received from all parts that twenty-two Dutch ships had left Ceylon, where they had collected all their

[1] The commodore of the English fleet was Captain William Basse, commander of the *London*. His account of the interview in that ship's log, says tersely that Baron wanted 'to borrow 30,000 rupe[e]s of all the commanders: but we had it not to lend him on such tearmes as neaver to receive it again' (*Mar. Rec.*, vol. 71; Khan's *Sources*, 245).

[2] This offer by de la Haye and its refusal by Langhorn are confirmed by India Office records (*E.F.*, II, Madras; 17 F.S.G., 43; 26 F.S.G., 32*a*, 33*a* and *b*). According to Fryer (I, 123) the offer was subject to the condition that the English should equip the French ships, 'for which our commanders pretended lack of orders as well as money and materials; though the plain truth was they despised their [the French] kindness, thinking it beneath them to be beholden to them for their help'.

forces in the Indies, in order to attack the English fleet.[1] Moreover, since the arrival of these ships at Madras, all the goldsmiths of the town and surrounding country had been summoned by the English to coin 60,000 pagodas, which they also risked sending in their ships to Masulipatam, though they could easily have been sent by land.[2] But they were so proud of this fleet of ten rich merchantmen that they imagined no enemy would dare to approach them. We shall see in another place [pp. 662–5] the results of their pride, so characteristic of this nation.

About noon the Viceroy sent one of his guards with a letter to tell me that he was sending me one of his small ships to Madras roads, so that I could load it more quickly with the corn for which I had contracted with my two Hindu merchants [pp. 606–7]. Taking everything that I foresaw might happen into consideration, I at once replied to the Viceroy that I thought it would be proper for him, before sending this ship, to write a word of civility about it to the English Governor, for fear that (as I anticipated) he might object to its lading. I also informed him that M. Baron's negotiations had not at all succeeded, because of the opposition of the Governor, who was influenced by an ill-natured bias against our business. M. Baron accordingly gave up all hope of obtaining anything from this nation, though a French ally, so that

[1] India Office records show that six chests of gold were landed at Madras for the coining of pagodas (O.C. 3853), and seven chests had been retained at Masulipatam for that factory's use (6 Mas., 27, 45–6). It would no doubt have been safer for the remaining treasure, intended for the west coast of India, to have been kept at Madras pending the return of the ten ships; that this was not done was probably due to (1) the trouble such a removal would entail, (2) the reluctance of the commanders to depart from ordinary rules as to their maintaining custody of treasure till delivered to the proper persons, and (3) undue confidence felt by Langhorn and Basse in the superiority of the English fleet to that of the Dutch (*E.F.*, II, Masulipatam; 9 Mas., 14, 17–20, 22).

[2] It was usual to convert the gold received from England into pagodas at the Madras mint, and to send large sums of such pagodas to the Masulipatam and other neighbouring factories for payment to merchants in return for cloth supplied to the Company, etc. In fact Langhorn and his Council had in July told the Masulipatam factors that, if they could not dispose of the gold there, they should send it to Madras by the ships, [so] 'that it be coyned and returned them without losse of time' (M.R., 1672–8, 15). The employment of outside goldsmiths, as well as the mint establishment, to coin the pagodas was no doubt due to the short time available for the process, viz. only ten days from 9 to 19 August (N.S.) that the ships spent at Madras before returning to Masulipatam (pp. 602, 615). The pagodas were not lost, as the ships reached that port safely.

evening I got ready my palanquin, in which he returned to St. Thomé by land, as he did not wish to go by sea after his accident on the preceding day.[1]

Saturday, 19 *August*. We had certain news that the Dutch were within two days' sail to the south-east of St. Thomé, and were coming with all their forces for some large undertaking. The English, with all their pride, had not the courage to wait for them, though they had made it known that they did not fear the Dutch fleet in any way. They quickly embarked all their crews,[2] and I remarked the wonderful way in which fortune makes sport of human prudence and wisdom. These English withdrew the eighteen cases of gold and silver which were in the two weakest ships and transferred them to the vice-admiral's, which was stronger and better armed, believing that the money would be safer in this vessel if it came to a fight with the Dutch, an event the result of which we shall see later.[3]

In the morning I received a letter from the Viceroy for the English Governor about the ship which he wished to send me at Madras. I took it to the Governor and he kept me to dinner, where I spent a rather unpleasant time with the officers of his council, as they could not resist making jests and sneers against our French at St. Thomé, who they said would soon be at their last gasp and did

[1] Martin (I, 504) confirms Carré as to Baron's return to St. Thomé on 18 August, very vexed at the Governor's refusal to lend him any money. The *Journal* (II, 91) adds that the Viceroy received him with a salute of 15 guns, and very fairly ascribes his failure to two reasons, (1) that the English needed the money for their own trade, and (2) that any loan to the French would put Madras in danger of being besieged by the Moors. To these should be added (3) a well-founded mistrust in the proposed repayment at Surat; cf. *n.* 1 at p. 611 *ante*. The dissensions among the directors of the French Company at Surat, and their reluctance to help St. Thomé, might well have led them to disown the obligation to repay a loan made without their knowledge and consent.

[2] The news that the Dutch fleet was returning had no doubt been received; but it was not till 22 August that Langhorn and his Council knew definitely that it was in the neighbourhood of Madras (*Mar. Rec.*, 15 Misc., 67, 69); nor does there appear to have been any undue hurry in the dispatch of the English ships: their lading had been completed by 18 August, when the commanders were given their orders to sail (ibid. 74, entry of 8 August, O.S.).

[3] The vice-admiral's ship was the *President*, commanded by Captain Jonathan Hide. As the strongest ship in the squadron, it was to head the line, should there be an attack by the Dutch fleet; and the result was unfortunate (as Carré implies), for the *President* was captured by the Dutch in the action off Petapoli (pp. 663–4 *post*).

not know which way to turn. I felt obliged to reply that I was amazed to hear them speak in this way of their allies and friends, and that for the rest they ought to believe that all our Viceroy did showed a prudence and foresight worthy of his greatness, in finding every means of defeating his enemies; and if he had asked for a loan, it was not that he lacked money, as they imagined, but only to try out the good or ill will of the allies of the Crown of France in an emergency.[1]

Finally the Governor did not belie the judgment to which I had come on the subject of the letter of civility I had given him from our Viceroy. He told me I could say in reply that, if the vessel came to Madras, he would never allow me to send anything away in it. He alleged as a reason for this that he did not wish to bring the Moors on his head at a time when he needed their esteem and goodwill, in order to get in the merchandise which was coming from all over the country as lading for their ships. I saw quite often that it was not so much this reason which incited them as their natural antipathy against us French, and the seizure of the vessel of Mr. Jearsey, the richest and most powerful Englishman, who so ruled everything, that the Governor and others went to him every day for consultation. He it was who aroused resentment against our Viceroy,[2] to whom I wrote fully of the Governor's refusal and of all the conversations I had had with him and his officers, without obtaining anything from them.

The result was that no one was more embarrassed than I was in this business. As I had no way of sending this grain to St. Thomé, I was obliged to fill my own lodgings with it, after measuring it in sacks, so that it would be ready for dispatch on the first favourable occasion that I could find. At the same time I was in great anxiety for fear of some affront at my lodgings from Moors and English, incited by our enemies and those who envied us. I made

[1] The Abbé must have belied his conscience in saying this, as it was undoubtedly the urgent want of money that induced Baron to try to borrow some at Madras (p. 611 *ante* and cf. Kaeppelin, 110). His marginal note against the passage about Baron on p. 610 *ante* also says that Baron could not obtain anything from the English *for the succour of St. Thomé*.

[2] Jearsey naturally showed great antagonism to the French; but he and Langhorn were not on good terms, and the latter complained to the Company about his conduct in belittling his help to him over the seizure of the *Ruby*, and 'caballing' against him (*E.F.*, II, Madras, 1673; O.C. 3729), so it is unlikely they consulted daily.

every effort to induce my merchants to find a way to send this grain by land or sea; but they were all so frightened by the strictness and menaces of the English that they did not dare to do anything for us, in case the English got to hear of it.

This evening the English ships set sail for Masulipatam, to get the merchandise which was not ready when they first called there. This departure was so hurried that at first it astonished most people, but they learnt the reason for it afterwards.[1]

Sunday, 20 *August*. After Divine Service I had a visit from the Rev. Capuchin Father Ephraim, who on entering my room, and before saying anything, gave me the impression that he had some bad news for me, as he is the only person in Madras employed by the English, Portuguese, Hindus, and Moors, in all their most delicate affairs. The Governor was not satisfied with having stopped the dispatch of a vessel from St. Thomé for the corn I had bought. He had also wished to know the names of the merchants who had made this deal with me, and after summoning them, forbade their delivery of the grain, unless for ready money. He threatened to confiscate the merchandise they proposed to take in payment, alleging that it belonged to local merchants and even to the English, and that the French had pillaged it from the boats they had seized. So this good Father, full of zeal on behalf of the merchants, came to tell me that I must find ready money to pay for the corn, because there were some private Englishmen, who were interested in the matter and who wished to have their share paid in hard cash, before any more of the corn was taken away. He added that, if the merchants would pay them 500 pagodas, the former would be free to act as they wished. This discourse much surprised me, and I plainly saw that it was a trick of the English. Moreover the Father told me that the Viceroy would not release two men, whom he had imprisoned for eight months without any reason. They belonged to Senhor João Pereira, a Portuguese who was a sort of temporal father to these two Capuchins and had supported them for thirty-five years [p. 549]. We had

[1] The date of departure agrees with an entry in the log of the *London* (Khan's *Sources*, 245) that she set sail for Masulipatam on 9 August (O.S.). The ships had been given their dispatch on the previous day, so they do not seem to have left in such a hurry as is suggested by Carré; cf. *n.* 2 at p. 613 *ante*. Their speedy dispatch from Madras was mainly due to the orders of the Company that the fleet should leave Masulipatam by 30 August (N.S.) and the Fort by 20 September (N.S.) at the latest (5 L.B. 22; *Mar. Rec.*, 15, Misc. 74).

also seized one of his merchantmen with all its cargo, which had much annoyed these Fathers. So, if the Viceroy would only release these two men, as he had been often requested to do, the Father assured me that the Senhor, who was an influential business man, would, notwithstanding the loss of the ship and her cargo, be willing to give us considerable help.

While the Rev. Father and I were having this discussion, my merchants arrived, having had word sent to them to come and see me about this time. I saw that it was a concerted plot; but I received these Hindus with the same courtesy as usual, for I did not wish to let them think that I suspected any such intrigue. I wanted to see them play their roles, as the Capuchin Father had already begun his. I made them sit down on carpets, in the manner of the country, and gave them betel-nut, the usual courtesy in receiving merchants. Afterwards, wishing to show that I was not the least actor in this little farce, and that I knew better than anyone how to play my role in such intrigues, in telling them of our discussion I forestalled them by a statement which astonished and quite dumbfounded them all. It seemed I had been inspired in what I had done the two preceding nights without anyone's knowledge—when, for greater safety, I had had all the corn at my lodgings transported to a granary near the sea, which a friend had secretly lent me. So I told these merchants, in front of the Capuchin Father, that I was very glad they had come, because I had sent for a great number of coolies to measure the wheat and take it to my storerooms, which I had emptied, having by a most fortunate chance found three boats that had come to Madras roads at night, and having got them to carry all my corn, which had by now happily arrived at St. Thomé. 'What,' said the good Father, very surprised, 'you have sent away all the corn which you bought from these merchants?' 'Yes,' I replied coldly, 'and I am very sorry I did not buy a greater quantity, as the boats could have carried a good deal more.'[1] The merchants looked at one another, stunned by this game of hide-and-seek, which they never expected, and expressed great embarrassment, for on the one hand the English merchants

[1] The lie, which the Abbé admittedly told at the expense of the merchants, arose out of the urgent need for money at St. Thomé. The Viceroy could not give ready money for the grain, so Carré wanted the merchants to fulfill their contract to take captured goods in payment, though these might be confiscated by the English.

were demanding 1,000 écus [i.e. 500 pagodas] for their share of the corn, and on the other they feared the confiscation of the merchandise we promised in payment. They said they would be very grateful to be paid in money, to which I replied that I had made this deal not with any Englishman, but with themselves who had come to me and suggested the transaction. I had written accordingly to our Viceroy at St. Thomé, who had given me full power to act and conclude this affair on the terms I had arranged with them; they had also received eight pagodas from me as earnest-money, and had already delivered a part of the corn, large enough to prevent them from wishing to cancel a deal like this one, unless they wanted to lose what I had already sent to St. Thomé. Besides, I said, the Viceroy was not a person to be treated with deceit or bad faith; and I saw only too well the origin of all these difficulties and set-backs, which they had not raised until then. They were more embarrassed than I was, so I sent them away politely and begged them to think seriously over this affair, which touched their honour and reputation, as much as their interests.

As for the Rev. Capuchin Father, as soon as I was free from these merchants, I thanked him civilly for the trouble he had taken in bringing me messages from the English; and with regard to the two men belonging to Senhor João Pereira, who took it so much to heart and felt such consequent animosity against our Viceroy, I promised to write to St. Thomé, in a way which I hoped would give him entire satisfaction on this point, after which he would have no more reason to complain against our French.

As soon as the Father had left, I sent an express messenger to St. Thomé to tell the Viceroy of this affair and received a reply by return that he was very surprised at what I told him, having believed the whole thing to be definitely settled. He wrote that above all I was not to mismanage this good stroke of business, which was of the last importance. As for the two men belonging to the Portuguese gentleman, I could send some persons, who knew them, to fetch them back. With this reply I went to the Capuchin Father and then with him to Senhor João Pereira's house to ask him to send one of his people to St. Thomé with the names of these two men to identify them. The Senhor was enchanted at such good news and could not do enough to show me the immense pleasure I gave him in procuring the deliverance of these two unhappy wretches; he had almost given up hope of their re-

lease, as they had been in prison for eight months since we had taken his ship and his merchandise [p. 485].

As I always tried to make use of anything which might help me in my affairs, and I saw that this Portuguese was a man engaged in all sorts of trade and well disposed to help me, I begged him to get me some twenty sacks of pulse from the bazar in his own name, and gave him the money for it. I passed the rest of the day and a part of the night with him, as if I was paying him a visit, while my servants took an account of, and measured, this grain; it was brought the same night to my lodging, which was only about six paces away from his house.[1]

While I was busy at this work in Madras, the Viceroy, on the news that the Dutch were near at hand, worked out a plan which he had been hatching ever since his return, to break down the courage and resolution of the Moors. Their camp, which was so near to St. Thomé, was the stumbling block preventing all our business, and I knew that a counter-blow was premeditated. This gave me terrible anxiety and I continually offered up supplications and prayers, knowing the peril and fearing the consequences of this greatest undertaking, which we are going to see below.

Monday, 21 *August*. The Viceroy held a Council of War last evening with the principal officers of the town. About midnight the captains and other ships' officers landed with their crews, all well armed. They went to the parade-ground of the town, where the Viceroy had the whole garrison ready under arms. He harangued them in such a delightful way, to tell them of the enterprise on which he was leading them, that everyone showed a vast ardour and alacrity which gave a happy foretaste of its success. It was an amazing thing that the Viceroy had great difficulty in calming those soldiers who were to remain to guard the town. They all cried out that it was unjust not to take them in this greatest opportunity of acquiring more honour and glory. Finally everything was in order, and two small field-guns were taken out and drawn on planks.[2]

[1] João Pereira had a house in White Town, and a garden and garden-house in Peddanaikpetta (Love, I, 154*n*, 444). In view of what Carré states at p. 573 *ante*, the house in question was probably the one in Peddanaikpetta, which was on the west or far side of the 'Padda' canal, as shown in Pitt's map of Madras. This agrees with Carré's statement that he was living in one of the suburbs of Madras.

[2] The *Journal* (II, 92) and Martin (I, 506–7) agree that the sailors and their officers took part in this sortie, and that all dispositions were made on the night

The Viceroy had so carefully studied the devious ways, crossings, and the whole country-side, from the reports of his spies and the prisoners taken during the last few days, that he led his troops successfully to the first guards in the enemy camp, at the time he had proposed, without their having been seen. They would indeed have been able to enter right up to the middle of the sleeping camp, had not the horse of one of the Viceroy's guards neighed so loudly on smelling the enemy's mares that this awoke some sentinels posted at the entry of the camp, which faced the side of the mountains. Our people were training their small field-pieces in that opening, which was the only way the Moors had left for themselves to flee in the event of attack; and a sentinel, hearing the noise quite near him, fired his musket and wounded one of our sergeants. He also shouted so loudly in his own tongue that the whole camp was aroused.[1] Our men instantly charged and inflicted such carnage among men, women, children, horses, cattle, and in fact everything that fell under their weapons that a worse defeat had never been heard of.[2] The saddest thing was the piles of dead men and horses, so high that they prevented the flight of the

of 20 August; but Martin says the troops left St. Thomé at 10 p.m. The *Journal* mentions a rendezvous outside the town, where the whole force met at midnight. It also gives the substance of an exhortation to them by de la Haye. Both corroborate Carré as to two field-guns being taken with the party, which (according to Martin) numbered about 500 French and 400 lascarins.

[1] Both Martin (I, 507–8) and the *Journal* (II, 92–4) say that the Moor camp was about $1\frac{1}{2}$ leagues from St. Thomé, and according to the *Journal* it was reached some time after 2 a.m. It adds that de la Haye led his men to a place where the camp was unfortified, and Martin (I, 506) also mentions the existence of such an entry. Both accounts agree that the troops were met with some musket-shots, which killed one or two men, whereupon they charged and met with no resistance, the enemy having taken to flight at the first volleys from the attackers.

[2] Martin (I, 508) states that the attackers, being unable in the darkness of the night to distinguish anything, fell on everyone they met, who were mainly traders, sellers of provisions, and workmen. The *Journal* (II, 94, 95–9) similarly says that the French troops charged without knowing whom they struck, and that only traders and workmen were killed in the camp, as well as women and children. About the slaughter of the latter, it scathingly remarks that the lascarins protested against it, and that this was done by a heap of scoundrels, who sacrificed them to their brutal fury. At the same time it puts the number of Moors killed at only some 60 or more, half of whom were women and children. The *Journal* (100) corroborates Carré as to a quantity of cattle being also killed in the attack; but according to Martin (508) some were brought back alive with the troops to St. Thomé.

last of those trying to escape by the exit from the camp, where the Viceroy had posted some companies and the two field-pieces.[1] They threw themselves from the top to the bottom of their trenches and into the ditches, without caring where they fell, so as to avoid the fury and massacre of our men.

The Viceroy stopped this carnage, seeing there was no longer any resistance, and set fire to all the works inside the camp that were of combustible material.[2] The terrific flames from this amazed the inhabitants of all the neighbouring places, who could not imagine what had caused such a tremendous conflagration. The people in Madras rushed in crowds to the top of the Fort, where each one began to make suggestions according to his inclinations. The English and Portuguese were sure that it was due to the Moors, who had taken St. Thomé; others said that the Dutch had disembarked a day's journey above St. Thomé to join the Moors, and were lighting signal-fires to warn them of their arrival. Few people hit the bull's-eye with the exception of a Frenchman resident in Madras for twenty years. He was the armourer of the English and, having run like all the others to the Fort, he cried out in the midst of this multitude that it was the French Viceroy who was chasing the Moors from their camp. Some Englishmen, annoyed at hearing him proclaim a French victory, treated him as either mad or drunk.

During this conflagration, which lasted the rest of the night, our French stayed in the camp, drawn up in battle-array till daylight revealed everything. They then pulled down the Moor flag in the centre of the *place d'armes* and hoisted that of France in its stead. Afterwards they prepared to take away the numerous horses, elephants, camels, pack-oxen, and the valuable baggage, found there, and even began to drive the cattle hither and thither in disorder, as they did not imagine that any of the enemy would any longer dare to oppose them. The Viceroy, however, had an eye for everything, and rode at full speed round about the neighbourhood of the camp. He saw the mountains and valleys swarming with

[1] This is uncorroborated by Martin and the *Journal*, whose statements, given in the preceding note, imply that all the Moor soldiers managed to escape; but this seems improbable.

[2] Both Martin (I, 508) and the *Journal* (II, 94) say that de la Haye ordered the camp to be set on fire, with a view to prevent the pillaging and disorder that followed on the rout of the enemy. He then managed to restore order among the troops, whom he kept at the camp till next morning.

enemy cavalry, who were rallying on all sides; so he at once rushed through the camp and stopped the pillage, in order to collect his troops. He had hardly formed up a battalion of them, when they were surrounded by 1,500 horsemen, making four squadrons, one company of which, being the bravest, charged at full gallop and with swords drawn, in an effort to break up the battalion. They were so well received by our men, who kept up a continual fire with wonderful discipline, that not a single one returned to his squadron: they and their horses all fell in a heap, one over the other, a pistol-shot away. The Moors were all terrified at seeing this slaughter, and did not dare do anything but follow at a distance the two wings of the battalion, which retired victorious with the loss of only ten men and some wounded.[1] It is certain that our French had never before succeeded so well in any enterprise as they did in this attack, which broke down the courage of the Moors and routed them absolutely, so that they finally retreated to their fortress of Poonamallee.[2]

About noon a great number of Moors arrived at Madras: horsemen, officers, and others, all bearing marks of the French victory. They were in such a state of terror that they alarmed the whole of the town by the account of the French exploits in their camp, where only ashes and smoke remained as dismal marks of their last disaster. It looked as if God's hand was in this work, as it was the most fatal blow the Moors had received, dispelling all desire on their part to have anything more to do with the French. This also disheartened people who were jealous and envious of our nation, since they saw our affairs prospering and succeeding gloriously, in spite of all their intrigues.

[1] Martin (I, 508–10) and the *Journal* (II, 94) give accounts of the return of the troops to St. Thomé, which show that Moor cavalry pursued them and made occasional attacks, in some cases causing temporary alarm and disorder, as well as some French losses. Carré himself, in his letter of 22 January 1674 to Colbert (cf. Kaeppelin, pp. 91–2) gives much the same account of this part of the affair as in the text above, saying that the French would have been defeated but for de la Haye's rallying his men and forming a battalion, which killed the thirty or so ('une trentaine') of Moor horsemen that charged down on it. Martin (509–10) puts the number of French killed in the sortie at only two, and the *Journal* (99) at only three; they give the wounded as 10 to 12, and 16, respectively.

[2] This is confirmed by Langhorn, who says (*E.F.*, II, Madras; 17 F.S.G., 46–7) that on 10 August (O.S.) the French routed the Moors and pushed them back to Poonamallee.

CHAPTER VII

DUTCH INTERVENTION AND OTHER EVENTS AT ST. THOMÉ AND MADRAS (AUGUST—SEPTEMBER 1673)

Tuesday, 22 August. In the morning we saw twenty large ships out at sea coming from the south-east and approaching the coast. When near enough to be recognised off St. Thomé, they hoisted their Dutch ensigns and tacked about our roadstead as if they were looking for an anchorage.[1] The Viceroy, seeing that these ships feared to approach too near St. Thomé, fired a cannon loaded with ball to show them that they were awaited with as much keenness as on the first occasion when they had come. But if the French at St. Thomé were roused and overjoyed at the arrival of these ships, as an opportunity for gathering more palms and glorious laurels, it was not the same in Madras among the English, where the alarm was so great that they could not keep the citizens in the town. The guards were doubled at all the gates, with orders not to let out anyone who was capable of bearing arms. It was also proclaimed by beat of drums in and outside the suburbs that everyone must come into the town with his arms. In this trouble which threw the whole town and its neighbourhood into a panic, I gave orders to my people to get my arms ready and to provide munitions, while I went to the English Fort. There I found the Governor on the platform[2] with all the principal people of the town. They were watching the Dutch ships, which had finally moored in our roadstead of St. Thomé, without daring to come within range of our guns.

The English Governor, seeing me there, thought I was also as alarmed as they were, and very kindly offered me room in his residence in the Fort, if I wished to take refuge there with my servants. I thanked him, but told him that, as I knew I had been a weight on his mind when I lived in the town, I would be sorry to

[1] Martin (I, 540) and the *Journal* (II, 100) corroborate Carré as to the arrival of the Dutch fleet before St. Thomé on 22 August: the former gives the number of vessels as 20, the latter as 21.

[2] MS. *platte forme*. This was probably 'the plattforme by the sea-gate', which is mentioned in a Madras report of January 1679 (M.R., 1679–80, 6) and appears to have been different from the 'terrace' named at p. 562 *ante*.

cause him possibly greater anxiety by accepting his kind offer, and that I felt safer in the house I now occupied in the suburbs with my servants, where I really had nothing to fear, than if I was in the Fort, where I saw everyone in a state of alarm. I left with several Portuguese, rich Hindu merchants, and even some English, each of whom made his jibe against the Governor. Some said that it was no longer necessary to seek for the reasons why their fleet had left so hurriedly; that they were evidently in flight, and that the vessels which were the cause of so much pomp, rejoicing, and pride, had not, however, dared to await the enemy, but had fled before seeing them. Others said that the Governor had been very ill-advised to refuse the obliging offers of the Viceroy at St. Thomé to send the four ships he had to escort and help the English fleet, in case it met the Dutch, who with twenty large vessels did not dare to approach or attack the four French ships awaiting them resolutely in their roadstead.[1]

Rijkloff, the general of the Dutch fleet, after having anchored in front of St. Thomé out of range of our guns,[2] sent a boat ashore three leagues to the south, to disembark some officers, who were to go to the Moors' camp with compliments to their general, in order to consult with him as to what was to be done. The Dutch, however, were astonished to find nothing in this camp but smoking embers, a frightful carnage on every side, and the melancholy signs of the complete defeat of the Moors.[3] Startled by this terrible sight, they returned quietly, thinking that they were now against enemies who were bound to spare them still less than they had these miserable Moors. They re-embarked in their boat and made a report of their proceedings; its recital of the state in which the French had left the Moor camp caused general alarm among the Dutch fleet, and General Rijkloff now gave up hope of the Moors wishing to return and join with them in this enterprise against St. Thomé, unless more troops were sent from Golconda, which was not likely to be soon. So the Dutch, realising that their designs

[1] Langhorn similarly says that the Dutch were faint-hearted and were afraid to attack the three or four French ships, lest this might weaken themselves (*E.F.*, II, Madras; 17 F.S.G., 47).

[2] The *Journal* (II, 100) also says that the Dutch fleet anchored out of cannon-shot of St. Thomé.

[3] Martin (I, 510) gives similar hearsay information of the Dutch sending men to get news of the Moor camp, and being surprised to find it had been abandoned.

against the French had once more miscarried, now resolved to turn their arms against some others, wherein they hoped to be more successful than at St. Thomé.[1] They stayed, however, some time in our roads to await other vessels, which were missing, and also to send once more to know the final resolves of the Moors, intending to do all they could to recall them to the post from which they had been driven the preceding day.

Two badly wounded Moor officers had withdrawn to the suburbs of Madras, hoping to find English surgeons. As these, however, were all confined to the town, where the inhabitants were being reviewed [*v.* below], they came to beg me for some remedies for their wounds. I told them that I was neither a doctor nor a surgeon; but, like most Orientals, they were persuaded that every Frenchman should know both medicine and surgery, and have remedies for all sorts of ills. I was, therefore, obliged to give them some salves to put on their wounds, which they found so good that they importuned me with several visits. They told me that the preceding day had been so disastrous to their arms that there was not a single person, among those who escaped from this cruel event, that would not seek by all means to make friends with the French at St. Thomé. As for myself, they treated me as if I was a French stranger [unconnected with St. Thomé], and on this account even some of our deserters, when arrested on the roads, saved themselves by saying they were merchants of our Company, who had nothing to do with the French in St. Thomé.

The two Capuchin Fathers, during this scare in the town, rendered a good service to the English, who were at a loss to know the number of Portuguese and [other] Christian inhabitants in the settlement. The good Father Ephraim, a fine all-round man of great capacity,[2] was now to be seen in the streets of Madras, accompanied by English officers, and holding the roll of all the families, their station in life, and the number capable of bearing arms; so that one saw this worthy Father zealously helping the English on every side and doing more work by himself than all the English together. They were not ungrateful, as was shown by

[1] This refers to a proposed attack by the Dutch fleet on the ten English ships.

[2] Among other attainments he was a polished linguist, being able to converse in English, Portuguese and Dutch, as well as being conversant with Persian, Turkish and Arabic (*Madras Tercentenary Volume*, p. 375; Manucci, III, 471).

the protection and charitable gifts they gave to the two priests.[1]

However, in spite of the furious jealousies of the English and Portuguese against our nation, I had the intense pleasure and satisfaction of seeing that all the Hindus and other natives of the country were full of goodwill and affection for us and of fervent hopes for the success and prosperity of our affairs.

Wednesday, 23 *August*. I wrote to St. Thomé this morning to inform the Vicēroy of all that occurred, and what I had done the preceding day at Madras regarding the English, Portuguese, and Moors. About ten o'clock we saw out at sea three more Dutch ships which came to anchor before St. Thomé under their own colours. One of them, wishing to show off before anchoring, moved within range of our guns, but was saluted so fiercely from our bastions and our ships that she retired quickly to her companions, having scarcely had enough time even to fire three cannon-shots as a courtesy salute to our ships; but their guns were not powerful enough to carry even half-way, as their calibre was not equal to that of oùrs.[2] This afforded a pleasant pastime for two hours to the thousands of people who rushed to the seashore at the noise of the guns of the St. Thomé fortress. Their cries and shouts of joy, which were heard as far out as the Dutch fleet, showed their intense pleasure at seeing our French give such a sharp repulse to this proud and haughty enemy, who had returned only to increase his shame and infamy and to augment our glory.

I had realised that Father Ephraim, the universal agent in Madras, nourished a secret jealousy at my never having employed him in my negotiations, nor ever given him any information of my affairs, as I knew that the English would at once be told of them. I, therefore, went to find him, seeing that it was he who had tried to make my grain-merchants cancel my deal with them; and knowing the side on which to take him, I said many complimentary things about the credit and authority he enjoyed from everybody in the place. I then entreated him to do something to serve

[1] Thus there was a custom of giving the French Padres at Christmas time a quantity of paddy to distribute among poor Christians in the town (M.R., 1678–9, 146). The English also gave Father Ephraim what he annually demanded for decorating his church at the Christmas and other festivals (Manucci, III, 470).

[2] Martin (I, 510) and the *Journal* (II, 101) mention only one Dutch ship as having joined the fleet on the 23rd, or (according to Martin) on the 24th. They both give the incident of one of the ships approaching St. Thomé and being repulsed by gun-fire.

his own nation, and got him where I wanted. At the same instant I sent for my merchants, and having dispelled the scruples and fancies with which their minds were filled, I eventually made them see reason. Being resolved to finish the transaction without loss of time, I made men work all day at measuring the corn in their storehouses, and having it brought to my lodgings. Meanwhile I sent the merchants to St. Thomé with a letter to the Viceroy, in which I asked that they should be shown the merchandise to be given them in payment, and be treated with every consideration, as they were men of great weight and influence, who did business in a quiet, peaceful, and calm way: so that these Hindus, having received from the Viceroy the courtesy and goodwill I had led them to expect, returned in the evening, very satisfied with the samples of merchandise given them for valuation. They also brought back with them the two men belonging to the Portuguese gentleman [João Pereira: see p. 615], the temporal father of the Capuchins, for which I received the thanks of many people. This raised my credit in Madras, where it was thought that I would get all the prisoners at St. Thomé liberated.

Thursday, 24 August. St. Bartholomew's Day. The whole morning I received many visits and presents of flowers, fruit, rosewater, and other floral essences, with great compliments from some French officers who came from St. Thomé, the Capuchin Fathers, Portuguese, Hindus, and even Moors, in Madras, who came to wish me a happy feast-day of my Patron Saint.[1] I was with these gentlemen till the afternoon, and they all dined with me. Afterwards I learnt that the general of the Dutch fleet had landed some officers to go to Poonamallee, where they found the Moors in a very depressed state. Their general, Bussora, was severely wounded, and their principal captains and officers killed or maimed.[2] To the suggestion of the Dutch that they should return against St. Thomé, they replied that, if the Dutch had 200,000 pagodas and 50,000 men to send from their fleet to help them, they would then see what could be done; but, failing that, nothing more could be expected from them. They treated the Dutch as traitors and cheats, since by the blandishments and fairy tales with

[1] As to Carré's Christian name being Barthélemy, see vol. I, pp. xxvi, xxviii.

[2] Presumably this refers to what had happened in the camp on the night of 20–21 August; General Trimbak Bussora had already been wounded in March (p. 503 *ante*).

which they had lured the court at Golconda, a powerful army had been lost before St. Thomé. Consequently the Dutch, who considered they were not strong enough to undertake anything [alone] against the French, in spite of their fleet of twenty-three ships containing all their forces in India, had the disgrace of raising their anchors again in our roadstead, and shaped a course that evening for Pulicat. They left only five ships four leagues to the south of St. Thomé, to assure the passage of some vessels laden with merchandise for their factories on the Coromandel coast, where they have a great trade.[1]

This same day the Viceroy with his usual suite went for a ride as far as the Moor camp, to see if they had returned there; and finding only the desolation which it had suffered, they pushed forward up to the mountains and over the plains for about three leagues in all, where they came across nothing but submission and obedience.[2] The Viceroy on his return in the evening received some letters brought him from Golconda. They were written by a Portuguese called Gaspar de Couigne [? Coutinho], living in St. Thomé. He had received much courtesy and kindness from the Viceroy, having the honour of dining at his table every day. In return this traitor wrote to the Dutch at Golconda, telling them all that was going on at St. Thomé and the state of our affairs. The Viceroy summoned him and showed him his letters, which he could not deny. He was so thunderstruck that he could not open his mouth to say a single word in his defence. I certainly consider the goodness and clemency of the Viceroy was too great on this occasion. He contented himself with turning the man out of the place; and the traitor went to Madras, where he had many friends. It was represented to the Viceroy that this villain deserved a more severe punishment, to which he replied that French generosity should be greater than the treachery of the infamous Portuguese nation.

[1] According to Martin (I, 510) 16 of the Dutch ships sailed for the north, and five remained two leagues to the south of St. Thomé. Kaeppelin (112) cites a report by Baron that Rijkloff, being unable to count on the co-operation of the Moors, left for Pulicat with 20 ships.

[2] Martin (I, 510) and the *Journal* (II, 101) corroborate Carré as to de la Haye's visit to the former Moor camp, etc. Langhorn reported that the French were now masters of the country, with no one to oppose them, and that 'to say the truth, it is we, and not they, [who] are the persons besieged' (*E.F.*, II, Madras; 17 F.S.G., 47).

Friday, 25 August. St. Louis' Day. At break of day the Viceroy went out with his escort half-way to Madras, whence he sent me two of his guards and a company of lascarins with a note that he was expecting me to assist at the celebrations and ceremonial of the fête of our great monarch, Louis XIV,[1] and also to discuss our present state of affairs. About eight o'clock I left for St. Thomé on horseback, arriving there one hour before the Viceroy. He had gone for a ride round the country-side, from which his men brought back 300 oxen laden with grain. This was placed in our storehouses after having been measured, and the merchants were paid to the last penny. They were so surprised at the Viceroy's courtesy and civility that they published the fact in all the neighbouring villages, saying that the French paid double for all the victuals brought them at St. Thomé.[2] This had a marvellous effect among the country-people, who had not dared to take anything to St. Thomé on account of the English and Moor prohibitions. Consequently, instead of taking the usual roads to Madras, they dispersed all over the country-side, where they knew the French would meet them to take them into St. Thomé. These poor folk, on their departure, gave a thousand blessings on this brave nation, who had delivered them from the tyranny of the Moors, the hated enemies of the Hindus on account of their religion.

I passed all the day in private consultation with the Viceroy, who impressed on me the importance of my promptly getting as large a quantity of provisions as I could into the place. This obliged me to return that evening to Madras to collect as much grain as possible for my storehouses, in order to have it ready to dispatch on the first favourable occasion.

Saturday, 26 August. The English Governor set out this morning from Madras with a very fine equipage and went to a village about three leagues away on the road to Pulicat, where he met the Dutch general. They had a long interview on the subject of the war and the present state of affairs. The Dutch general assured the Englishman that all their war-like preparations were only against

[1] Martin (I, 511) says a solemn mass was sung at the cathedral on this evening: presumably this was part of the celebrations referred to by Carré.

[2] Martin (I, 510–1) and the *Journal* (II, 102) corroborate Carré as to de la Haye's ride on 25 August and his getting the country people to bring provisions to St. Thomé. Martin says he paid them 'generously'; the *Journal* that he paid double their value. They both state that this resulted in 180 to 200 oxen, laden with rice, being brought to St. Thomé on the same day.

the French, and said that, though they were at war in Europe, they ought to act as merchants and allies in this eastern country, all the more so as they both were of a religion opposed to that of the French, who aimed at re-establishing their Catholic Church in Holland and in England. It was then agreed not to interfere with one another, and that each would strive for the glory and advantage of their respective Companies' trade.[1]

They were encouraged in this by letters and envoys from the Golconda court, the latter taking part in the conference. These incited the English to close the coast-road to the French importation of provisions and to hold no communication with them. That evening, on their return, everyone spoke diversely of this interview. The Governor, in order to dispel any suspicions that he was in league with the Dutch, showed the letters he had received from the Golconda envoys sent to see him on this subject, which contained rigorous orders and furious menaces against his helping the French in the least way.[2] This obliged him the next day to publish even stricter orders than before, forbidding the Madras inhabitants from selling or furnishing anything to the French at St. Thomé.[3] But this English Governor, clever as he was, did not foresee the end of this business: he did not take into consideration that General Rijkloff was an old trickster, and as able a soldier as had ever been seen. He had only asked for this interview to divert the English and remove any suspicion of his main design, which was directed against them, as we shall see later on [pp. 650, 662].

In the evening a Hindu merchant of Viranna's family, who was brought to my lodging, told me that he had been robbed on the road to St. Thomé by a company of our lascarins, who had taken a large sum of money from him. I promised him that the Viceroy would give him every satisfaction and do him justice, if he could identify the lascarins who had robbed him. An hour later one of

[1] India Office records do not mention this meeting of Langhorn and Rijkloff on 26 August, but it may well have taken place as a preliminary to the more formal proceedings of 17 September (see pp. 667–8 *post*).

[2] India Office records show that on 14 August the King of Golconda wrote to Langhorn, reproaching him for giving supplies to the French, and threatening him, if he continued to assist them (*E.F.*, II, Madras; 26 F.S.G., 27). This would probably have reached Madras by the 26th, and Langhorn replied on the 29th (17 F.S.G., 45).

[3] The *Journal* (II, 103) records under date of 27 August that no more provisions were being received from Madras.

the most important persons in the country, who had come to Madras for some business, also came to see me, and made me a proposal, namely that he would, for the needful cost, interest himself in our affairs, so as to procure peace and reconciliation with the King of Golconda for us. He told me he had come expressly to see me about this.[1] I thanked him as civilly as I could, and said I would write at once to the Viceroy, which I did as soon as he left me.

Sunday, 27 August. The Viceroy had again received letters from the French prisoners at Batavia complaining that they were being treated with the utmost harshness. Thereupon a boat was sent at dawn to Pulicat in charge of M. de la Motte, officer of the ship *Breton,* with letters to the Dutch general, in which the Viceroy complained of the bad treatment of our prisoners as contravening the capitulations made with them by himself when the Dutch took them over at Trincomallee.[2] The boat arrived at noon alongside the Dutch flag-ship, where the Frenchmen were received by the general and treated as civilly as could be expected; several gun-salutes were fired, and after they had been well regaled, they were sent back with very civil replies for our Viceroy.[3]

In the morning I received three letters from the Viceroy: one urging me to send provisions to St. Thomé as quickly as possible; the second to satisfy the merchant who had been robbed by our lascarins; and the third a polite letter of thanks to the person who wished to arrange a peace with the King of Golconda. I had great trouble all the day in finding ways and means to send grain to St. Thomé, for because of the new prohibitions of the English no one dared to serve me openly. But, as interest can do a great deal, I had some thirty coolies who gained their livelihood as porters for me, and were so prompt in doing all I wanted that they were always on my door-step waiting for employment; and when I

[1] This important personage may have been the gentleman who (according to Martin, I, 511–2) represented himself to be an envoy from the King of Bijapur, and who had a two hours' interview with de la Haye and Baron at St. Thomé on 26 August. The *Journal* (II, 103) mentions his departure with dispatches and presents on the 27th.

[2] Martin (I, 512) and the *Journal* (II, 103) confirm the dispatch of de la Motte to Rijkloff to complain of the treatment of the French prisoners at Batavia as contravening the capitulations mentioned by Carré. Th se to General Rijkloff were made himself, see *n.* 1 at p. 431 *ante*.

[3] This also agrees with statements by Martin (I, 513) a d the *Journal* (II, 103–4).

told them that I wanted a hundred coolies to go to St. Thomé that evening, in next to no time I had the number required, who came to fill their sacks at my lodgings. That night I dispatched them all with the respective loads on their heads by the inland-route; the poor creatures met with great difficulty as there were two rivers to cross by the road which they took in order to avoid the English guards.[1]

M. Deltor, merchant of our Company, who was a steady young man, intelligent and clever in all kinds of business, and was the agent of M. Baron, came to Madras this evening to see me on some business matters in which he was working also on his own behalf to facilitate our affairs. I certainly considered that the Viceroy was very fortunate in the present anxious conditions to have with him this worthy director of the Company [M. Baron], who showed such zeal and affection in the King's service that I had several times seen this M. Deltor come from St. Thomé to my lodgings with M. Baron's silver plate and furniture, which he pawned, so as to provide necessaries at that place.[2]

Monday, 28 *August*. I received a letter this morning from the Viceroy, in which he asked me not to send any more grain by the inland route on account of the risk and trouble it entailed—not from fear of the enemy, because the country was free from the Moors after they had been chased from their camp, but on account of the two rivers which were in flood, and which our coolies found so difficult to ford that some of their loads had been damaged by wet.[3] Enclosed in my letter was another one for the English Governor, which was a peremptory summons that he should allow our provisions to pass to St. Thomé. I went and presented this letter to the Governor, who after perusing it, gave it to me to read. He said that I could see that the Viceroy's letter was written in a very offensive strain, and that he absolutely refused the demand and would never allow anything to pass by the coast-

[1] Martin (I, 512) says that Carré obtained express permission from Langhorn to send the grain by this route. This seems unlikely, in view of the Governor's objection to the merchants selling it to him (p. 615) and the new prohibitions of the English mentioned at p. 629 *ante*. Carré was also accustomed to send things by this route surreptitiously (pp. 554, 590).

[2] M. Deltor had come to St. Thomé from Masulipatam with Martin in January 1673 (p. 483 *ante*).

[3] Martin (I, 512) also says that some of the sacks of grain had been soaked in crossing a river.

road. In reply to this I pointed out very civilly the glory and honour he would gain by helping the business of our great monarch, now the most powerful king in the world. He was, however, inflexible to all I could urge and told me haughtily in reply that he was a greater friend of the King of Golconda, and more in fear of him, than he was of the King of France. I was so deeply wounded by these insolent words that I could not resist the retort that I knew on good authority that it was not the King of Golconda that he wished to serve to our detriment, but rather the Dutch, with whom he had made a secret treaty to help them in a second siege against St. Thomé.[1] In the end I could extract nothing from this Englishman except that he would call his Council to settle a reply to the summons received from the Viceroy.

On leaving him I went to the grain-merchants to get as much grain as I could transfer to my lodgings, where I considered it would be safer and more easy to send away on the first favourable occasion than if it were in the merchants' storehouses in the town. While I was occupied with this work, Viranna sent to find and tell me of a conversation he had just had with the English Governor on the question of the Viceroy's summons, which had much displeased and embarrassed him [Langhorn]; nevertheless he had resolved not to relax his severe orders against the French. Finally the good merchant, who always sought for occasions to show his zeal and affection for our nation, advised me to avail myself of a Portuguese ship, which had remained alone in Madras roads and was on the point of leaving for Achin, as she could easily, in passing St. Thomé, stop in its roadstead and transfer the cargo I should put in her to our own vessels.

The preceding evening four of our best soldiers at St. Thomé

[1] Martin (I, 512–3) corroborates Carré as to de la Haye's peremptory letter to Langhorn, in which (he says) the Viceroy accused him of being in communication with the Dutch, and hinted that he would complain of his conduct to the King of England. Martin goes on to criticise Carré's diplomacy as too high-handed and so responsible for the Viceroy's strong letter on the subject. This seems, however, hardly fair to Carré, who wrote the truth to de la Haye in stating (as Martin says he did) that Langhorn had not wanted to let this grain go to St. Thomé (cf. *n.* 1 at p. 631 *ante*). It was only after the Viceroy had sent his 'summons' to Langhorn that the Abbé (against whom Martin shows some animus in his remarks and reference to him as 'cet homme'), at any rate according to his own account, gave vent to his vexation in the manner he here relates.

had come to Madras without permission to amuse themselves and to buy some food. On learning where they were in the suburb, I went to find them and treated them very civilly, so as not to alarm them. I was so successful that I persuaded them to bring their arms to my lodgings, where I promised to procure them some provisions and to let them pass the night. In this way I was sure of these four men, of whose desertion I had no fear, knowing their zeal and affection for the service, but I was afraid of their lives being in peril, as they had disobeyed the Viceroy's orders. Almost every day I had many more like them, whom I sent back at night so secretly that no one knew they had been in Madras; and doubtless these four would have returned in the same way, but unfortunately M. de Maillé, infantry-captain at St. Thomé, noticed in the morning that two of the best soldiers in his company were missing, as well as two cadets. He went to the Viceroy and asked permission to go to Madras to look for his men, which was granted. He was also ordered to go to the English Governor with a civil message from the Viceroy, for it was an admirable thing that the Viceroy, instead of being disheartened at the rudeness and discourtesy of the English Governor, never ceased to send him offers of help and friendship.

The French captain arrived about noon in Madras and went first to do his commission with the Governor, who kept him to dinner, but treated the Viceroy's courteous letter with great coldness. Afterwards, M. de Maillé came to find me with two English officers, whom I entertained. I assured the French captain that his four soldiers were on the point of returning to St. Thomé, and that they would not fail to get back at nightfall, provided he allowed me to do as I wished and did not let them know that he had come expressly for them; but he would not believe me and wanted to take them back with him, which would upset everything. When the four men returned to my lodgings to fetch the small provisions I had ready for them, they were much surprised to see their captain, and on telling him that they had only come to buy food, he replied that they were very wrong to have gone without leave, which would not have been refused, had they asked for it. This alarmed the men so much that they did not know what to do; but on their telling me of their fear of the Viceroy's severity I made the captain promise in front of them that they would come to no harm and that the Viceroy should not even

know that they had been in Madras. This rather reassured them, and they said they were ready to go back with him when he wished. In the evening the captain, seeing that they intended to return, contented himself with taking two of them with him to go back by the coast-road which was the shorter one and without any rivers to cross, while at their request, he let the other two go by the inland route, to escort their provisions. On arrival at the first ford they made all the coolies cross over, telling them to go direct to St. Thomé and give the provisions to any of their comrades that they might meet on the way. The two cadets then took the road to Golconda, but stopped for some days in a village near Madras to send me a note, saying that they were sorry to desert, but that fear of the Viceroy's rigour had forced them to avoid the risk of being shot for having done a thing to which they were driven by necessity, namely their going to Madras to get the food they lacked. I did all I could to learn the place where they were, but the man who brought the letter had disappeared. I wrote about this to St. Thomé, where the loss of these two cadets was much regretted, as they had served with honour and shown great courage in many encounters. I sent to a Portuguese lady, to whom one of the cadets had made successful love, to know if she had any news of him; by this, without meaning it, I caused many piteous tears, lamentations, and regrets, from the poor sweetheart, her mother, and her governess, when they learnt that the two Frenchmen had disappeared. It was some time before I could rid myself of these women, who came at all hours to pour out their laments to me.

Tuesday, 29 August. The English Governor assembled his Council in the morning to discuss the answer to the Viceroy's summons which I had brought the day before. He sent the reply to me about eight o'clock by the Rev. Capuchin Father Ephraim, who expressed much displeasure at the Viceroy having written in that way to the English Governor. The letter was in English, it being the only time I had ever known the Governor to write to the Viceroy in that tongue, as his custom was to employ our own.[1]

[1] Volume 17 of the Fort St. George records in the India Office bears out Carré's statement that Langhorn generally wrote in French to de la Haye. The first exception in the volume is the one referred to by Carré, and thereafter all are in French except four, probably because the drafts had to be discussed by Langhorn's council, as in this instance.

This he knew very well and used on every other occasion; it was indeed the only thing he brought back from the several years he had lived in Saumeur [Saumur] at a time when, I believe, Cromwellians were being hunted in England.[1] He would have done better to have learnt the respect and honour due to crowned heads than to have studied the French language.

After having dispatched a man to St. Thomé with this letter, I sent for my merchants, as I usually did as soon as I had no other business on hand. As a rule these people came cheerfully and gaily, but today, when they arrived with Father Ephraim, I saw at once that there had been some further hitch in the affair. On entering, the good Father announced that the English were in a great rage with the merchants for having made this contract with me, and having caused the Viceroy's summons to the Governor demanding that he should allow grain to pass to St. Thomé, which had so offended the English that they refused to let these persons deliver any more supplies of it to the French. As I saw the Father was very heated, I was submissive and gave due respect to his age and deserts. I dismissed the merchants very politely until the next day, when I told them to come and see me again. I then went to my usual resource, Viranna, for advice on what I ought to do, for I was sure he would find some way out, as he had done in a very obliging manner whenever I needed him.

This kindly Hindu, seeing the trouble and difficulty I daily had with these merchants, who were instigated and intimidated by the intrigues and jealousies of the English and the Moors, told me to give them up, and to say, when next I met them, that I did not want anything more, nor require their services any longer. He offered to take all my business in hand and to act in such a way that neither the English, nor any of our enemies and ill-wishers, would know anything about it. He showed me a sample of the best grain I had ever seen, saying he wished to present it through me to our Viceroy, to show that he was not serving our nation for his own interests, but only to gain the honour and glory of helping a nation which he recognised to be the most noble and enlightened

[1] Langhorn evidently knew French well; and though he himself stated that he had 'spent 27 yeares in travells, studies, and considerable employments' (Love, I, 339), the above appears to be the first mention of his having lived at Saumur. After the Reformation this place was the metropolis of Protestantism in France (*Enc. Brit.*, XX, 12).

in Europe. I was full of wonder that Providence and the special help of God had raised up this noble and powerful Hindu to be my friend at a time when those from whom we had a right to expect every help were abandoning us and treating us worse than our own enemies. Finally I promised this generous merchant that in the future he should not be disappointed in the good and just opinion he had formed of our French; and when I was taking leave of him, he asked me to send my people to him to measure the grain.

At four o'clock in the afternoon I received a letter from the Viceroy, asking me to give him a full account of all I had learnt during the last two days, especially about Pulicat and the Moors. I replied by return that Rijkloff, the Dutch general, had two days previously disembarked at Pulicat all his sick men on board, and other useless people, to the number of about 300, both black and white, who (we thought) would be used as guards of the town; that the ships had been busy lading merchandise, but on advice received from Masulipatam all this work had been stopped, leaving a large number of bales on the shore, in order to employ all their men and boats during one whole night in lading their ships with cannon-balls, powder, muskets, linstocks, and similar war-munitions;[1] that afterwards all the French they had in Pulicat, and the best soldiers in that garrison, were embarked in the fleet, which then set sail along the coast to the north towards Masulipatam; that General Rijkloff, in order not to give umbrage to the English and to avert any suspicion of his designs, had stayed behind at Pulicat, to work on the fortifications of the town; that this had raised a great storm with the Moor governor of the place, who opposed the works that the Dutch were doing, saying he had had orders from his master, the King of Golconda, not to allow any Europeans to build fortifications in his country without express permission from the court; that the Moor governor, fearing that he might be accused at the court of connivance with the Dutch, as they continued building these fortifications in spite of him, had withdrawn to a village in the country and there written

[1] The advice from Masulipatam probably brought news that the English fleet had reached, or was approaching, that place, where it arrived on 15 August (O.S.), i.e. 25 August (N.S.). The *Journal* (II, 104) records under date 30 August the receipt of news of the Dutch fleet's hurried departure from Pulicat for the north.

to the court so as to protect himself from the Dutch, who were bribing everyone with large gifts of money, a sure means for getting these Orientals to do what is desired of them; that with regard to the Moors, who were still in their fortress of Poonamallee, they were in the utmost despair, as they had had only two months' pay in the eighteen months of this war; and that they did not dare to withdraw any farther, on account of the news that General Baba Sahib had been imprisoned in the place to which he had retreated, because he had abandoned their camp and was the cause of its having been burnt by the French.[1]

Wednesday, 30 *August*. The Viceroy left an hour before dawn for his usual patrol in the country. He collected daily a great quantity of rice, grain, and other provisions, on the roads to Madras, and sometimes brought back as many as 2,000 loads in one day, which was a great help to us. This day he found 200 horses and oxen, laden with stuffs, printed cottons, and other merchandise, on the way to Madras, and took everything to St. Thomé, to ascertain if it belonged to the Moors or to other merchants.[2] Some of the conductors in charge of this merchandise went to Madras and complained to the English that the French had seized all their goods. Father Ephraim came at once to see me in such a state of fright and agitation that I thought some great mishap had befallen their mission. Almost at the same time some officers of the English Governor and some of Viranna's people arrived; they were all so anxious to tell me what had occurred that I was quite bewildered, and it was some time before I could understand the reasons for this excitement. They all wished me to write at once to the Viceroy, to tell him that the merchandise he had seized belonged to the English, and beg him to send it back from St. Thomé. I at once sent an express messenger, who brought me back a reply from the Viceroy, bidding me not to meddle with this business or on behalf of people from whom we daily received a thousand insults, and that, if this merchandise really belonged to persons who were our allies and friends, they

[1] Martin (I, 503) records that on 16 August news came that Baba Sahib had been cashiered, and was to be replaced by Chennupalli Mirza. As to Baba Sahib abandoning the Moor camp, see p. 586 *ante*.

[2] Both Martin (I, 513) and the *Journal* (II, 104) agree that only 20 horses, laden with calicoes, and some oxen (25 according to the latter), laden with rice, were brought to St. Thomé on 30 August.

should come and claim it themselves; that nevertheless he was very glad that he had been enlightened on the subject, as he had been advised that these goods belonged to the Moors, who were sending them for sale to Madras, as they were in urgent need of money. I went at once with this reply to the English Governor, who was much perplexed, not knowing exactly how to take it. He said he was amazed our Viceroy was not satisfied with seizing all provisions on their way to Madras, but was also taking their merchandise. 'As for myself,' I replied, 'I am not surprised that our Viceroy acted in this manner, and that he finds it prudent to stop and take into St. Thomé whatever he finds in the country-side, as you have closed all other ways for his provisioning. Moreover, there is really no ground of complaint against him, because he pays well for everything and sends away the sellers and conductors of the provisions very satisfied. As for the merchandise which he has seized, I am sure he will return it when he is informed it belongs to you.'

The matter was urgent, as it was necessary to make a claim to the goods before they were unloaded, so the English Governor wrote a polite letter to the Viceroy, as also did Viranna, telling him that the English owned this merchandise, which they were bringing from neighbouring places as cargo for their ships, expected to return in a few days to Madras.[1]

As the Portuguese vessel was on the point of sailing to Achin [p. 632], I paid a visit to her captain, with whom I had taken the precaution to be on good terms so as to get him to do what I wished. On his repeating his offer to help, I told him that he could do a really friendly turn for the French at St. Thomé, for which he would receive the Viceroy's thanks; I proposed he should let me stow on board some grain, which I had ready, so that, while passing St. Thomé, he could transfer it to our vessels in the roads there. He replied very obligingly that his ship was entirely at the Viceroy's service, and that I could freely lade as much as I wished at night, lest the English should worry him, if they knew of it. Accordingly, on leaving I went to Viranna and told him that the Portuguese captain had let me have his boat for my grain. Thereupon this worthy man made his people work for the rest of the day and the whole night to load all the grain that he had with him and

[1] The fact of this claim being made to the cloth is corroborated by Martin (I, 513), the *Journal* (II, 104), and India Office records (17 F.S.G., 42).

that I had in my store-rooms. I was so relieved and at rest after this achievement that I felt that nothing more would ever worry or embarrass me.

Thursday, last day of August. The Viceroy, having written to me to buy sabres, to arm two hundred of his sailors, who in the last two months had been trained in the use of arms, Viranna furnished me with the best he had in store, which I sent the same day to St. Thomé. Thereupon the Viceroy sent back all the merchandise he had seized two days before, without injury to the least thing, and he asked me to tell Viranna that he sent it back solely at his prayer and for his sake.[1]

A courier arrived at St. Thomé in the evening from our factory at Tellicherry on the Malabar coast, with some letters from that place and from Surat for the Viceroy and M. Baron. They contained no important news except that the Dutch had spread rumours throughout the Indies that they had razed St. Thomé to the ground and exterminated all the French on the Coromandel coast, where they had made such a name for themselves![2]

Friday, 1 *September.* I got advices from Pulicat that Rijkloff, the Dutch general (on receipt of a reply from the court at Golconda that powerful help was being sent to the Moors under the leadership of the great Mirza [Chennupalli], in order to commence a second siege before St. Thomé) was making great preparations and had sent to raise lascarins from all parts;[3] also that he had dispatched a large sum of money to Poonamallee, to induce the Moors there to put their army in proper order to return and join the Dutch. Our Viceroy, on receiving this news, worked with all possible diligence to get everything in readiness to receive the enemies that now so menaced us.

About noon I was informed that a boat from one of our ships at St. Thomé had come to Madras and had disembarked four Frenchmen, who appeared to be officers and had sent for the Capuchin Fathers; that the latter had come immediately to receive them and given them people to carry their boxes, furniture, and

[1] The *Journal* (II, 105) confirms the return of the cloth on 31 August.

[2] The *Journal* (II, 105) corroborates this, saying that the Dutch had fired *feux de joie* along the Malabar coast for the capture of St. Thomé by Admiral Rijkloff.

[3] As to Chennupalli Mirza, see notes at p. 357, 637 *ante*. The *Journal* (II, 105) also speaks of news being received from Golconda on 31 August that 5,000 Moors were soon to be sent to Poonamallee.

baggage; and that it would seem that these were malcontents, who were leaving St. Thomé, for instead of entering the town Father Ephraim had led them along the seashore with all their luggage to a certain garden belonging to a Portuguese, far on the outskirts, which they had been seen to enter.

I was much surprised at such a story, and I could not imagine what it meant, so I took some of my people with me and went immediately to this garden. On my way there, outside the town, I met Father Ephraim, who was coming from that spot, and was very surprised at meeting me. Suspecting the reason for my walk, and wishing to hide from me what he thought I did not yet know, he told me he was coming from the garden which they have far outside the town. I replied: 'My Reverend Father, it is not in your own garden that you hid those four French officers who have just disembarked with all their baggage? I think you will surely have found them a place more convenient for their needs and nearer the town.' Then, seeing I knew more than he imagined, he confessed to me that it was M. de Champignolle, captain of the *Breton,* together with MM. [de] la Mothe [Motte] and [de] Vil[le]-neufve, lieutenant and sub-lieutenant [MS. *enseigne*] of the same ship, and one of their servants, who were abandoning the King's service, being piqued on a point of honour, in which M. de Champignolle claimed that the Viceroy had done him an injustice.[1] 'Really, my Revered Father,' said I to the Capuchin, 'I am not surprised that you have always worked for the English interests, as you do in every way, because it is a just return for the protection and benefits you receive from them; but I am really astonished that, being a Frenchman, you do things which are so prejudicial to the service of our King, in thus accommodating and hiding those men of ours who are deserting from their service under the Viceroy, just as we are on the eve of another siege of St. Thomé, more rigorous than ever.' The Father did not know what to reply and went on his way. I returned at once and went to the English Governor, begging him to send some of his officers to make these Frenchmen come into the town, so that they could be

[1] This desertion by three officers of the *Breton* is fully corroborated by Martin (I, 514–5), the *Journal* (II, 105–6), and India Office records (*E.F.*, II, Madras; O.C. 3849). The reason for it is explained on pp. 641–2. Carré reverses the rank of the two junior officers; Ville-neuve was the lieutenant and de la Motte the ensign of the *Breton* (*Journal*, II, 105; Martin, I, 512).

kept there until I had advised the Viceroy in the matter. The English Governor, however, told me he would have nothing to do with it; and that, far from his wanting to worry these gallant officers, they would always find protection from him; so all I could do after this encounter was to send word as quickly as possible to the Viceroy about the affair.[1]

He sent me a very long reply on the subject, and told me to speak to M. de Champignolle and induce him to return. So about eight o'clock at night I went to the garden, where I saw M. de Champignolle in private. I showed him the Viceroy's letter, which was very civil and obliging, and had a long conversation with him afterwards. I pointed out the harm to his reputation and the blow it dealt to our affairs at a time when we had enemies on land and sea; but nothing I could say was of any avail. He declared firmly that he would not return to St. Thomé, unless the Viceroy gave him back the command of his ship, which he had held for fifteen months, and that he would never submit to be commanded by a young upstart, who had neither experience, nor seniority to him, in the service.

This disagreement arose from the Viceroy finding himself without funds to recompense officers who had always done their duty well and shown great zeal on every occasion. He thought he could not do less than to gratify them with some honourable appointments, while waiting until he could reward them in another way. Accordingly, as the Chevalier de Maison-neuve had always done good service, the Viceroy appointed him commodore of the four vessels now in front of St. Thomé, and went personally to introduce him;[2] but M. de Champignolle was offended, as he was a naval officer senior to the Chevalier. He

[1] Langhorn refused to return the officers, pleading the laws of hospitality and the impossibility of sending them back 'like malefactors': but he appears to have been influenced by the fact that de Champignolle was a relation of Colbert (O.C. 3849, passage cited in the *Mariner's Mirror* for October 1930, p. 361). Martin (I, 515) also hints at this relationship, in speaking of action taken in their favour on their arrival in France by 'a person in authority to whom one of them was allied'.

[2] The *Journal* (II, 104) records the appointment on 22 August of M. de Maison-neuve to the *Breton*, and that on the 29th the Viceroy reviewed the fleet and introduced him to her commander. It (106) and Martin (I, 514) justify the appointment, as necessary on account of the slackness of the three officers, with whom de la Haye had been dissatisfied on his voyage to Masulipatam.

presented a petition to the Viceroy, complaining of the wrong done to him and saying that he would never consent to serve under a man whom he had commanded. So, after waiting eight days without getting a reply from the Viceroy, he retired with his officers to Madras, as I have already related.[1] On my return to my lodgings I wrote to the Viceroy of my conversation with this captain, and all the arguments he had urged in his defence. I begged him earnestly to recall and reinstate him and his officers, in order that their withdrawal might not shake the loyalty of several others, and give occasion to our enemies to attempt some enterprise, on seeing us weakened every day by the flight and desertion of our men.

Saturday, 2 September. Very early in the morning I received letters from the Viceroy, ordering M. de Champignolle to return to his duty, with an assurance that he and his officers would be well received and treated according to their previous rank and employment. I went to find this captain, to whom I showed all the obliging messages the Viceroy had sent through me, and pointed out to him the great mischief done to the king's service by his conduct, assuring him of good treatment, if he would return. The captain replied that all the Viceroy's civilities and fine words were not enough to induce him to go back, and that he wanted an assurance in writing, signed by the Viceroy in the form of a commission, that he and his officers would be reinstated in their former positions in the vessel. Failing this, he had resolved never to go back to the king's service in the East. On returning to my lodgings to write to the Viceroy, I found letters on the same subject from the Governor of St. Thomé and other officers, begging me to make every effort to induce M. Champignolle to return. So, after sending my replies to the Viceroy, I went again to these gentlemen, and passed nearly the whole day trying to persuade them by a thousand arguments; but they would listen to nothing, unless they received the writing for which they asked.

In the evening the Portuguese ship left the Madras roads for Achin, and anchored opposite St. Thomé near our own ships, to which all the grain I had sent was transferred. During this time the

[1] According to Martin (I, 514) de Champignolle had been promised promotion to the first vacancy in the command of a ship; and he appears to have succeeded to that of the *Breton* in October 1672, when her former commander was sent to France (*n.* 2 on p. 459 *ante*).

Portuguese captain landed to visit the Viceroy, who received him with every possible courtesy and thanked him for the useful service he had rendered us in transporting this grain. The next night the ship set sail and disappeared down the Coromandel coast.[1]

Sunday, 3 September. The Capuchin Father Ephraim was not satisfied with sheltering these four Frenchmen in a safe place, but he must also publish everywhere among the English and the Portuguese that they were most worthy gentlemen, who had left their king's service for a very good reason, viz. the unjust proceedings of the Viceroy, which were the cause of all French desertions. Thereupon I went to this Father and told him that he himself was doing us a great injury in thus announcing that the deserters had right on their side, that this would incite others to desert, and that the injustices, under which these cowards were sheltering, were purely imaginary. However, the Father, without troubling himself about my allegations, and with intent to show that these officers were in the right and blameless, brought a good number of Portuguese to visit them and to offer them assistance. This induced the English to do the same, and they sent their garrison-commander and two other officers to call on them with compliments from the Governor, who sent them a present of wines, so that this affair was soon known and created a great sensation in Madras, to the extreme prejudice and dishonour of our nation. 'What!' cried the more sensible among them, 'the French, who are regarded as demigods for their splendid deeds in this country, now seem to wish to destroy themselves by a strange disunion, at a time when they appear destitute of everything. On the one side we see their indefatigable Viceroy of St. Thomé making great fortifications, so as to put it in a position to resist all the powers of the world; on the other hand we see their principal officers and many brave soldiers leaving their king's service, just when they are most needed, and when they might well expect a glorious reward for their splendid exploits; so that those envious of them openly rejoice at this fatal blow to their nation, and their enemies profit by it, hoping by this means to succeed in their enterprises

[1] This is corroborated by the *Journal* (II, 106), which says the ship anchored on 2 September under pretence of getting a passport at St. Thomé, and after leaving the grain sailed the next day with a salute of nine guns to the town. Langhorn also mentions this ship, as being 'commanded into St. Thoma road by the French' (17 F.S.G., 46).

rather than by force of arms, through which they have never yet been able to gain anything but inconceivable losses.'

Such was the situation on which I looked with pitying eyes, and I felt so deeply wounded that I hardly knew what to resolve—whether to be gentle or furious with those persons who were thus ruining us, particularly these French officers, whom I saw every day and by advice and entreaties tried to bring back to their duty. I said a hundred things and implored them not in this way to tarnish our great monarch's glory and their own and their nation's honour, which they had so enhanced and well defended from the beginning of this war. Some very worthy Portuguese, among the richest merchants in the town, came to see me several times to show me the esteem in which they held our nation, as well as on purpose to beg me to make every effort to persuade these officers to return to their king's service, and to mediate in this affair, as I had great credit with the Viceroy. But what could I do more than I was doing? On the one side I was continually with them, preaching and showing them by every imaginable argument that they ought to return; on the other I was writing every moment to the Viceroy, telling him all that was going on in this business, and the blow that it dealt to our affairs in their present state. To the end I received no other reply but that these officers must return at once, without any safeguard of the kind for which they asked, though he assured them in his letters to me that they would be well received and that no wrong would be done to them.

Meanwhile this affair spread abroad, so that our enemies, the Moors and the Dutch, being now only a day's journey from Madras, got wind of it through their spies and creatures, of whom they had a great number in Madras. They were all delighted and promised themselves success in their plans by this means rather than by any other. Thus I found myself in an appalling labyrinth, and hardly knew what to do in such a risky business. I kept on pressing my point with the Viceroy, though, knowing his disposition, I thought I was bound to lose all his goodwill and kind regard by letting him know that it was both expedient and right in the present state of affairs to give some satisfaction to these officers, in order to recall them to duty and to prevent the bad effects which their desertion might cause.

Monday, 4 September. About 400 Moor horsemen appeared at

daybreak between Madras and St. Thomé. Our artillery fired a few shots at them, on which they quickly retreated and then burnt some neighbouring villages, because the inhabitants had sold their comestibles at St. Thomé.[1] After this reception which we gave to the Moors, I received a letter from the Viceroy telling me to warn the French officers for the last time that, if they did not return this same day to St. Thomé, they would be proceeded against as deserters and accomplices with our enemies. The letter also contained another one of thanks to the merchant Viranna for his trouble and the good services he had rendered us in the dispatch of our wheat. Viranna received this civil letter with much pleasure, and begged me to write in reply that he wished only to have occasions to show his zeal and affection for his service. As for the French officers, they had finally decided never to return to their king's service, and they were only further irritated by the Viceroy's summons which I went to show them.

As often happens during a war, ready credence is easily given to bad news and pernicious rumours spread abroad. About noon the English had information that caused them the greatest dismay, namely that the Dutch and Moors had formed a plan to ruin Madras and to burn all the adjacent villages, so as to facilitate their plans against St. Thomé.[2] They also had news that on the preceding night the Dutch at Pulicat had sent some engineers to a village called Hyaperé [Vepery],[3] which was only about half a league from Madras. They were to lay out a plan for a camp in that place, which was screened by a large and spacious suburb of Madras, and

[1] Martin (I, 515) and the *Journal* (II, 107) mention the appearance of a troop of cavalry, which (according to the former) retreated on de la Haye making a sortie with some detachments to repel them, before they got within musket-shot of them.

[2] This is supported by a letter of 12 September (N.S.) from Langhorn to his Brahman representative at Golconda, accusing the Dutch of designs to take Madras, for which (he alleged) they had got permission from the king (*E.F.*, II, Madras; 17 F.S.G., 48–9).

[3] Vepery, which was spelt 'Ipere' or 'Vipere' in 1695 (Love, I, 581), was only some 2,000 yards to the west of Peddanaikpetta, according to the Plan of Madras drawn up by order of the Governor in 1733. It was a dependent village of the suburb, Egmore, which lay on the far side of the R. Elambore, and had no defences (Love, I, 410; Pitt's Plan of Madras, *c.* 1710). The *Journal* (II, 107) says, under date 4 September, it was rumoured at St. Thomé that Rijkloff had left Pulicat with 500 Europeans and 300 'blacks', and was camped two leagues from Madras.

was full of lovely gardens, but had no defences. This caused terrible alarm all over the town, and at once compelled the English to arm all the citizens and bring in all those living in the outskirts who were capable of bearing arms. In this disorder even our French officers were not very safe in their retreat far outside the town, so they came to see the English Governor and offered him their services. They were well received and regaled in the Fort, near which they were lodged. That evening the English sent all their lascarins and a company of English and Portuguese to the approaches from Pulicat, in order to guard against a night surprise by the enemy.

Thursday, 7 September. I had news from Pulicat that the Dutch had again sent officers with rich presents to the Moors' general at Poonamallee, to induce him to join them in an attempt against St. Thomé. The Moors at once called a council of war, and all their chiefs with one accord sent a reply to the Dutch envoys that they could undertake nothing before the expected arrival of General Chelepely [Chennupalli] Mirza with assistance and orders from the court as to what they were to do.

At the same time Viranna and the principal local merchants met and wrote to the Golconda court about the state of affairs. They told it that, if another siege of St. Thomé was undertaken, the whole country would be ruined, and no revenue would be forthcoming for the king's coffers; so that it would be much more advantageous to let things remain as they were, in the hope that, if the French were left in peace, their Company would bring great profit and utility to the country by its trade and business. Besides this, the merchants sent presents and important people to the Moors and to the Dutch, to incite them to come to favourable terms with the French. They also showed every courtesy and civility to our Viceroy, with offers of services, which they obligingly put into effect, whenever I wanted their credit and authority in my affairs.

But if these merchants were working on their part with so much goodwill for the interests of our nation as well as trade, the English on their side behaved in quite a different way. For, besides their natural jealousy against us, they foresaw that, if we once had peace and were friends with the natives, our proximity would take away from them their best trade. They were, therefore, against suffering anyone to assist us or arrange a peace, which

would be prejudicial to them. This is why, on the pretext of fear of the Moors, they were stricter than ever in preventing the transport of anything from Madras to St. Thomé. Notwithstanding all this, our Viceroy, to spur them into showing some honour and generosity, never ceased to send them polite messages by his officers and courteous letters by me for the Governor, to whom he generously offered every possible help from St. Thomé, in case our mutual enemies tried any enterprise against Madras, as according to rumour they intended to do.

Friday, 8 *September*. The English at Madras received a courier from Masulipatam, who brought news that their ships had left that place on the last day of August to return to Madras. This gave great anxiety to the English, as they feared with some reason that the purpose for which the Dutch fleet, armed for war, had left Pulicat suddenly the same day[1] was to meet their ships, as was very likely and had a result that we shall soon see [pp. 649–50].

Meanwhile the Moors at Poonamallee, who had not refused the rich presents or the money sent by the Dutch, wishing to let them know that they withdrew none of their demands or proposals, resolved to avenge themselves in some way or other for the last and most bloody insult they had received from the French in the loss of their camp. They realised that they could do nothing by force of arms, and decided to wage war in another way. They put all their cavalry into the country and went to the villages near St. Thomé, whence they chased the inhabitants far inland, because they were supplying that place with provisions. They hoped thus to reduce it by famine, but I had taken all possible precautions against this with the help and credit of Viranna, who, unknown to the English and our enemies, rendered me a thousand services by day and night.

This day, one hundred of our old lascarin soldiers from Porto Novo deserted,[2] though they had always served us well in the siege and the preceding fights. It was due to a mistake which had not been foreseen, but which is of the utmost importance in a

[1] The English fleet left Masulipatam on 20 August, O.S., i.e. 30 August, N.S. (*E.F.*, II, Masulipatam; *Mar. Rec.*, 15 Misc., 35, 75; Khan, *Sources, &c.*, 245). The Dutch fleet left Pulicat a day earlier, viz. on 29 August, N.S. (Van Quaelbergen's report, tr. *Mariner's Mirror*, for October 1930, 367). Martin (I, 514) heard of its departure on 31 August.

[2] The *Journal* (II, 107) says that 25 lascarins deserted on 8 September.

fortress. New soldiers in it should never be put on a rate of pay and rations that may cause them to grumble and mutiny, if it has to be reduced. This was the cause of the desertion of these soldiers, for they had been accustomed to a large ration of rice, when it was reduced by half, to husband provisions owing to the state of affairs. It was a considerable loss to us, who lacked sufficient men in the town.

Saturday, 9 September. We received letters from Golconda, written on 12 August and giving the news that the king, who had formerly seemed steeped in voluptuous pleasures, had at last awakened, as if from a profound sleep, since the departure of the Mughal ambassadors; that he had taken over the government of his kingdom, which previously he left to his ministers; that he passed most of the time in military exercises and had increased his guard to 6,000 horses and 200 armed elephants; that he paid the troops himself and was increasing their numbers every day; and that he now was preparing to go in person at the head of his army against Semouson, a powerful rebel in the Carnatic near the diamond mines.[1] In addition they advised us that the Dutch, who had boasted all over the kingdom that they intended to take the French Viceroy in triumph as a prisoner to Batavia, had lost much of their credit at the court, when news came of the glorious return of our Viceroy to St. Thomé, as well as of the great victories of our invincible monarch against the Dutch in Europe.

This same day we had also news by a Danish vessel, recently arrived at Tranquebar from Europe, that twenty war-ships had left France with help for us in India.[2] This created a great effect all over the country, and was most useful to us in our affairs, though we personally had not much faith in this report, having seen so many rumours of the same kind end in smoke.

[1] Langhorn's Brahman representative at Golconda similarly reported on 5 September, N.S., that the king had taken on himself all business relating to the Carnatic (*E.F.*, II, Madras; 26 F.S.G., 35). The 'account of a late revolution in the kingdom of Golconda', given by Ovington (App. 552), also says that, after the dismissal of his two chief ministers (which took place this year), the king 'dismisses the lewd women and dancers, and breaks the charms of his former pleasures with the thoughts of business, which he wholly minds and delights in; appears frequently at the Durbar; inspects into the whole affairs of his kingdom', etc. As to the revolt. cf. p. 518 *ante*.

[2] This was an unfounded report; cf. Kaeppelin, 40–1.

Sunday, 10 *September.* The English Governor, who was always overjoyed to hear abuse of our Viceroy, invited the deserting officers to dinner with him in the Fort, together with the members of his Council and the principal officers of their Company, so that they might listen to the complaints and cowardly talk of these French officers. During the meal they did not fail to describe the state of our affairs, to the great satisfaction and delight of the English, who thereupon published everywhere that the French were done for and would be obliged to abandon St. Thomé, as they were already beginning to do.

At noon I was told that there were a palanquin, two horses, and about thirty people with some merchandise, in a garden about a quarter of a league outside the town. They said they belonged to the French Company at Masulipatam and asked to speak to some Frenchman before entering Madras. M. Deltor, the agent of M. Baron, happened then to be with me and told me that it was the broker of their Company at Masulipatam, who was coming to render an account to M. Baron of the state of affairs and business in that factory. We went together to this garden, where we found the broker, who was a bagnian [Bania] from Surat, a hanger-on of Samson, our broker there. The latter had sent him to this place, as he had done for all our other factories, where he would never suffer anyone to be, except those under his thumb, so that no trade or business should be done without his knowledge.[1]

We kept this broker and his equipage at my lodgings, until we had given notice of his arrival to St. Thomé, for which purpose I sent an express to M. Baron. The Hindu told us that he had encountered great difficulty on the way, and that he had been ambushed in several places by both Moors and Dutch, who had let him through with much reluctance, though he told them he was a merchant from Masulipatam *en route* to Madras, where he had some business.

Monday, 11 *September.* An English ship was seen entering Madras roads under full sail about ten o'clock and anchored at noon. Her bad state much disturbed and saddened the town; all

[1] The *Journal* (II, 107) gives the name of this broker from the French factory at Masulipatam as 'Roubgy', i.e. Rupji. This fits in with Martin's statement (I, 254) that Caron at Surat gave him a broker called 'Rougby', to take with him to Masulipatam. He also corroborates Carré as to his being a creature of Samson, whose policy it was to put his own men in all the French factories.

her sails were torn, her rigging in shreds, and her masts and hull so riddled with cannon-shot that she was in a sinking condition, as she was leaking through a thousand holes, which they had not yet had the time nor the materials to stop. She sent a boat ashore, laden with injured and dying men, so covered with blood and wounds that this tragic spectacle redoubled the alarm, for everyone, on seeing the return of this solitary ship, thought at first that all the others had been taken or sunk. Finally we learnt that the English ships, which from pride and bravado had refused the Viceroy's offer of our four vessels as escort [p. 611], had on 4 September met the Dutch fleet, three days south of Masulipatam, where after a fight which lasted a whole day, the English lost three of their largest ships.[1]

The purser of this ship, called Mr. Kaidel [? Cadell], was an intelligent young man, who knew many languages and French in perfection; and I had many private conversations with him on the affairs of their Company. He was sent to the Madras Governor to tell him that this ship, called the *Bombay* [*Merchant*], was in a very bad state and needed a complete overhaul of masts, rigging, sails, and other like gear lost in the fight, and that the Governor, who himself had a share in the ship, should arrange to begin work on her and furnish all the necessary things. But it is remarkable how the good rules and admirable foresight of this Company work to obviate outrageous expense in the overhaul of their ships in India. The Governor sent a reply to her captain, saying that he was in charge of her and ought to have taken all precautions to have got spares before he left England, so that, if anything was lacking for his return voyage, it was his duty to bear the cost and to make any advances required, of which he was to render an account to the

[1] The fight took place on 22 August, O.S., or 1 September, N.S. (*E.F.*, II, Masulipatam; *Mariner's Mirror*, October 1930, pp. 367, 371). Three English ships, the *President* (Vice-admiral), the *Sampson* (Rear-admiral), and the *Antelope*, were lost in it. The remaining seven ships reached Madras on 1 September O.S., i.e. 11 September, N.S. The *Bombay Merchant* was probably the first to arrive, as stated by Carré. She was in the van of the squadron, when it met the Dutch fleet, and took part in the first part of the engagement; but after an hour or so she 'bore away' from it, her commander saying this was because she had received a shot under water near her stern and had five feet of water in her hold (*E.F.*, ibid.; O.C. 3834–6; *Mariner's Mirror*, October 1930, pp. 372, 373, 379, 380). Dr. Fryer (I, 122) says she 'received 80 shot in her hull, and some between wind and water, . . . besides innumerable in her rigging, masts, and sails'.

Company or to the ship-owners in the customary way.[1] In short the Governor said that he could supply nothing of what was asked for, and that they must do the best they could to get what was needed. On this, the purser represented to the Governor that, if they could not get those things in Madras, he had been ordered by the captain to go to St. Thomé, to call on the French Viceroy and ask him civilly for his help in getting the gear he needed. The Governor informed him this would be of no use, and persuaded him that the French Viceroy was very perverse and hostile, and that, far from getting any effective help, he would only receive annoyance and ill service. He gave as proof of this the seizure of Mr. Jearsey's ship, with 200 bales of goods, which had been taken to St. Thomé some days before. He professed himself very shocked at this, though all the merchandise had been returned to him intact.[2] The Governor's discourse had such an effect on the commanders and other officers of their ships that not one of them deigned to send to St. Thomé, either on their own business or to show any courtesy to our Viceroy. Yet he was at all times full of generosity, and incessantly instructed me to tell the Governor from him that he would be delighted to render any service to their ships, should they want anything from St. Thomé. We had masts, rigging, sails, anchors, and generally all the gear of four or five large ships which had been beached. The Viceroy, being in great need of money, would have been delighted to exchange all this with the English for salt beef and munitions, of which the latter had a great abundance in their vessels [cf. p. 610]; but the malicious policy of the Governor prevented this plan, knowing

[1] All the ten ships, except the *London*, were privately owned and merely chartered by the Company (vol. 3, chap. 1): the owners of the *Bombay Merchant* were, therefore, responsible for refitting her at their own cost, even though the damage was caused by the king's enemies, so as to be from an 'excepted peril' (Halsbury, *Laws of England*, XXVI, 222–3, 235–6; ibid. Hailsham edn., XXX, 478, 493–4). In 1818 the Company's shipping was so closely regulated by legislation that special provision in an Act of Parliament was necessary to enable it to give extra allowances for additional costs to owners due to war (53 Geo. 3, *c.* 83, *s.* 4; Auber, *East India Company*, 1826, p. 669). As an instance of providing for advances and spares, cf. *Ct. Min.*, 1677–9, 322, where a sum of £400 for ship's expenses and two spare anchors were taken aboard the *Sampson*.

[2] Carré's statement that the merchandise taken with the *Ruby* was returned intact is confirmed by a letter of 1 September from de la Haye to Langhorn (26 F.S.G., 32*b*), in which he says that he had sent it to Madras, though it was lawful prize.

full well how useful it would have been to our French. He kept all naval affairs so secret that I did not hear anything of this trick until after the departure of the ships [cf. vol. III, chap. I].

About four o'clock in the afternoon the rest of the English fleet arrived at Madras, namely six vessels, of which three were in the same bad state as the one which had arrived this morning.[1] During the commotion in Madras caused by their arrival I wrote to the Viceroy at St. Thomé to inform him of all I had learnt about the rebuff of this fleet. He replied by return and sent a civil letter to the English Governor, which I gave him. In it the Viceroy expressed his regret at the great loss of their three vessels, and begged him to join with the French against the common enemy. He offered his personal services and all the forces at St. Thomé to assist them at Madras, in the event of the Dutch coming to attack them according to the prevalent rumours. The Governor at first told me he was very obliged to the Viceroy for this civility and courtesy; but, in regard to the last remarks in his letter, he said with disdain that he was much surprised that the Viceroy had written to him in this way, seeing that he had so often informed him that he could in no wise ally himself with the French, as he was friendly with the Moors; and in regard to the Dutch he had no need of his help, as Madras was strong enough to withstand them, should they menace it again.[2] This vehement and haughty reply annoyed me deeply, but I did not wish to displease the Governor, as I had great need of his help in all my affairs, and he was also glad to use my services in the thousand questions that daily arose on the subject of our French. I preferred, therefore, to retire quietly from this interview.

On returning to my lodgings, I found two of the Viceroy's guards with a saddle-horse; this they had brought for me to meet the Viceroy, who was waiting on the St. Thomé road, having come thus far to confer with me. I at once mounted the horse and went with the guard to the Trivelicany [Triplicane] wood, where

[1] Two of the ships were badly damaged, viz. Basse's ship, the *London*, and the *Ann*, who had bravely fought the Dutch (O.C. 3834; *Mariner's Mirror*, October 1930, pp. 373–4). The third was probably the *East India Merchant*, which took part in the engagement for some three hours, and then stopped for want of shot (ibid.).

[2] De la Haye's renewed offers of assistance were again refused by Langhorn, but he did this courteously in his written answer (*E.F.*, II, Madras; 26 F.S.G., 32*a*; 17 F.S.G., 44). Martin (I, 516) also says Langhorn thanked the Viceroy civilly.

I found him with six companies, some French and some of lascarins. We passed some hours together in this place, discussing present affairs. I acquainted him with the details of the followers and the equipage of the broker from Masulipatam; and he told me to send all of them to St. Thomé this very day. He also ordered me to return again to the English Governor and to show him more civilities, with renewed offers of help. To this the Governor replied that he would send an answer when he had finished his business with the officers of the ships, in which he was then engaged. I dispatched our broker with his palanquin, horses and followers, and conducted them myself to the English guard-post,[1] fearing he would otherwise be arrested, for the Governor refused to allow anyone's equipage to pass along the coast-road. So, having sent off the broker and his people, I took back all his baggage to my lodging, and dispatched it at night by the country road, which was a very difficult one owing to the river crossings.

Thursday, 12 *September*. The English Governor sent me his reply to the Viceroy's letter of the previous day, which I at once dispatched to St. Thomé.

Upon the information I kept giving him about quantities of food, provisions, and all sorts of grain arriving at Madras, and the places from which they came, the Viceroy continued his daily beats all over the country-side and secured a great many things: this kept our enemies on the alert. Today he luckily met 2,000 pack animals, laden with grain and other provisions, which was a great help to the town,[2] and came most appropriately, just when I had been told that the Dutch were leaving Pulicat to begin their siege. They were dragging eight pieces of artillery, bombs, and other war-machines, and were on their way to camp between Madras and St. Thomé, in order to cut off our supplies by road and all help from the land-side.[3]

[1] The *Journal* (II, 107–8) says the broker with two pattamars, two horses and a palanquin, arrived at St. Thomé on 11 September.

[2] The *Journal* (II, 108) and Martin (I, 516) mention the arrival on 12 September of oxen laden with rice. Martin gives their number as 800.

[3] It was early in September (O.S.) that the Dutch land-force arrived near Madras and St. Thomé; and Langhorn's first letter about it is dated 2 September, O.S., i.e. 12 September, N.S. (*E.F.*, II, Madras; O.C. 3845–6). Martin (I, 517) on 17 September heard cannon-fire, which was believed to signal the junction of the Dutch with the Moors; and similar firing was heard at Madras on the 16th. (p. 666 *post*.)

Nevertheless the English, in spite of their severe loss in the fight with the Dutch, worked day and night to lade the seven remaining ships; and the four which had been very badly injured in this combat were put into as good a state of repair as possible, without any expense to their factories. I noted with astonishment the promptitude, the order, and the dexterity, with which they dispatched some 400,000 écus' worth of merchandise in country cloth.[1]

M. Baron was anxious to show his zeal by every means, and to help the Viceroy in the big affairs at which he worked indefatigably. So, after taking the accounts of the factory at Masulipatam from the broker, he asked him if he could possibly borrow some money at Masulipatam to help our affairs here. The broker replied that he could well raise a sum of 10,000 écus, provided that some safe way were found to bring the money from Masulipatam. It was therefore resolved to send the broker back in his palanquin to negotiate this business, and that the servants and horses belonging to the Company should remain at St. Thomé for the use of the town. On this the Viceroy wrote, asking me to go to the English Governor and propose that these 10,000 écus should be paid to their chief at Masulipatam in exchange for payment to us in Madras. It was such a simple matter and so easy that I did not doubt the English would show us this little favour; but I was much out of my reckoning, for the Governor, when I spoke of it to him, replied that he could not possibly do it, giving me as a reason for his refusal that their ships had left at Masulipatam a large sum of money, which they had been unable to use, since their vessels had not had the time to take away half of the goods prepared for them.[2] 'Very well,' I said to him, 'if you cannot do this at Masulipatam, will you oblige us by advancing us some money here against an obligation to repay it to your ships on their arrival at Surat?' 'Still less,' he replied, 'as I cannot dispose of the Company's money or goods, for which the captains of our ships are accountable to the President at Surat, whither they are bound.'

[1] The value of the cargoes put on the seven ships at Madras was 156,132 pagodas (O.C. 3853). This, at the rate of 9*s*. or two écus a pagoda, would make 312,264 écus.

[2] The English fleet had orders to leave Masulipatam by 20 August and stayed there for only four days (15–19 August, O.S.), so there was not time to lade all the goods ready for it (*Mar. Rec.*, 15 Misc., 33, 74, 75).

Consequently, having obtained nothing from these Englishmen, I could not do anything but try my usual recourse, namely Viranna. I found him engaged in the delivery of merchandise to the English, as he does all their business. But, as soon as I touched on this affair, he assured me that he would find some means to let us have the money, immediately on its being placed in the hands of Mr. Mahon [Mohun], chief of the English factory at Masulipatam.

Wednesday, 13 *September*. The English Governor, hearing that many people and families in Madras were leaving for St. Thomé, where they thought they would be safer from the Dutch, assembled a great number of the populace—men, women, and children, about 800 in all—and personally set them to work on a large ditch, which he was making to join the Madras river to the sea, so as to close the road to St. Thomé by the side of the sea. Besides this, he was making two earth-works on the seashore for two batteries of artillery, each of ten guns consisting of eight and twelve-pounders, to protect the roadstead, while the ships were being laden;[1] and yet the garrison and all the citizens were under arms day and night, being in continual alarm from the reports of spies, who came at every moment with information that the Dutch were preparing terrible engines of war.

In the evening I received a letter from the Viceroy for the English Governor, which I delivered. In this he asked the Governor to give him some information as to the attitude of the Dutch; also the time when the English ships would be able to leave for Surat, and if he would kindly send back some of our lascarins, who

[1] No specific mention of this ditch or the earthworks has been traced in contemporaneous India Office records for Fort St. George, which give scanty information on such points; but a letter to the Company dated 20 August 1674 (O.C. 3992, partly printed in Love, I, 366–7) states that the chief fortification work done was on the seaward side, as 'a protection against the Dutch and the French without offence to the Moors. The 'Madras river' is the Cooum, joined here by the Elambore (cf. *n.* 2, p. 448 *ante*). This river-bed lies between St. Thomé and the Fort, but (except in the rainy season, October and November) does not reach the sea, as its mouth is blocked by a sandy bar permitting easy traffic between those two places (*Imp. Gaz. Ind.*, XI, 51). Thus Fryer, who was at Madras in September 1673, notes (I, 103) that the Madras river opens its mouth 'in great rains' into the sea; and the strip of land is clearly shown in Pitt's plan, *c.* 1710, and in later maps of Madras. Langhorn's ditch would prevent traffic and be kept open by the heavy rains due in October and November.

had withdrawn to Madras.[1] The Governor received this letter fairly well and informed me that, as for the ships, he was working hard, as I saw, to lade and send them off as soon as possible, for there was no time to lose, if they were to get their cargoes of spices from the Malabar coast and other Indian merchandise at Surat for the return voyage to England.[2] With regard to the Dutch, he said he had had no certain news as to where their fleet had gone after the fight, but there was a rumour that General Rijkloff, who had stayed at Pulicat, intended to attack Madras; while four Dutch ships, which were believed to have come from Batavia, had arrived at Sadras, to lade merchandise and other things that were there. And finally, regarding the lascarins for whom the Viceroy asked, he said I could send people to find their hiding-place, and he would then deliver them into my hands. This he did the same evening.

It was, however, an amazing thing that during this time, while the English, Portuguese and other Madras inhabitants, were in a continual state of alarm that made them watch day and night, our French at St. Thomé took so little notice of the rumours and news brought by our spies that they thought only of amusing themselves. They would have been annoyed to miss any chance of exercising their charms, at which they were past masters: marriages were still being celebrated, and the Madras ladies who were betrothed to Frenchmen, implored them by letters and messages to rescue them quickly from the continual state of alarm that existed in Madras. Thus today three Frenchmen from St. Thomé came to visit me at my lodging and, after having shown me their permits from the Viceroy, begged me to find them palanquins or other conveyances to take their mistresses to St. Thomé, where they were to be married. So, in addition to my own tiresome affairs, I had to be a matrimonial agent; and every day I had troops of women on my hands, who came to see me as being their only hope of sending and passing out of Madras luxuries, provisions, jewels, and furniture, to their daughters and relations who were married to our Frenchmen.

[1] A copy of this letter dated 13 September is in 26 F.S.G. (last sec.), 1.

[2] The ships had to stop at ports on the Malabar coast to take in pepper, cardamoms, etc., and to reach Surat in time to permit of their being laden and dispatched on their homeward voyage early in January, as usual. As it was, they did not arrive at Swally till 18 December (*E.F.*, 1, 231).

Thursday, 14 *September*. We had news by our runners that the Dutch at Pulicat to the number of 800, both black and white, had advanced to Walour [Vallur], a village half-way between Pulicat and Madras, with three field-guns and plenty of munitions of war,[1] and that 150 lascarins and some 20 Dutch had deserted on learning that they were being led against St. Thomé. This made General Rijkloff spread a rumour that he was going to attack Madras, where his soldiers were more willing to go, as they knew this would be better for them than going to the neighbourhood of St. Thomé, where there were still the terrible marks of the losses sustained by the Moors.

The French officers, who had withdrawn to Madras, having finally resolved to abandon their king's service, went to see the English Governor and asked for a passage to Europe in one of their ships. This he granted most civilly and regaled them all day. He even took them round to see the works and fortifications which he was making for the defence of Madras, to wit four terraces or earth-works on the side facing the sea, which were furnished with eight- and twelve-pounder guns, and on the St. Thomé side a ditch to join the river to the sea, so as to prevent any communication with our French. There was a project for the north side, which was not carried out, namely for a wall of over 400 yards long between the town and the suburb, which would run from the river to the sea, like the ditch on the south.[2] The side towards the open country could not be fortified without levelling the suburb [Peddanaikpetta], which is twice as large as the town, so that it has no other defence but the river, which can be forded at several places.

We were also informed that two large merchantmen had

[1] The *Journal* (II, 109) under date 16 September gives the reported Dutch force as 500 Europeans, 600 lascarins, and 1,000 Cingalese. Langhorn in a letter of 12 September (O.S.) puts it at 'about 1,000 white men and 1,000 blackes' (17 F.S.G., 2): but these estimates may include a separate force from Sadras, which joined that from Pulicat (Martin, I, 517; Kaeppelin, 113).

[2] The project of building a masonry wall round Black Town was taken up by the Company in 1685, but was not executed till the beginning of the eighteenth century (Love, I, 472). Its northern side in 1673 had not even an earthen wall (Fryer, I, 109). The full length of the northern front of Fort St. George was about 380 yards (Love, I, 368*n*), and that of Black Town would be rather longer.

arrived at Pulicat full of wounded, maimed, and dying sailors, sent from the Dutch fleet, which had been so damaged in the fight with the English that they could not claim a victory, though they had taken three English ships. They had lost more than half their crews, and eight of their men-of-war were so disabled that they had withdrawn to the river of Corange [Coringa], a little to the north of Masulipatam, to refit.[1] We were advised that in the reduced state of the Dutch fleet, if the English with their seven ships had been willing to join us with the four which we had at St. Thomé in an attack on the Dutch, we could have easily destroyed their whole fleet;[2] but the English were so satisfied with their strength that they would never listen to any proposal or to the beneficial offers which our Viceroy sent nearly every day on this subject. The Dutch general got wind of this, and fearing that our French would attempt some action with their four ships, he hastened to approach St. Thomé, so as to keep all our men on the alert.

Friday, 15 *September*. I went in the morning to the English Governor with a letter from the Viceroy, in which he invited the Governor to join with him against the Dutch by sending a force of only 200 men, who could easily be withdrawn from their ships, for an affair likely to achieve glory and renown. The Viceroy said he had complete knowledge of the state of defence and lay-out of General Rijkloff's encampment, only four hours' journey from Madras,[3] and gave his word that Rijkloff would be seized the

[1] Van Quaelbergen's report of 5 September (*Mariner's Mirror, loc. cit.*, 367–70) gives an incomplete list of the Dutch losses, viz. 30 killed (including 3 commanders), and 123 wounded. He also says that bad weather made it difficult to preserve their damaged ships, and that on the 4th they 'fell about 3 miles south of the point of Coringo, which is roughly 15–16 miles north of Masulipatam'; and that the bad weather made it impossible for him to tell when his ships would reach Pulicat. Coringa is about nine miles south-west of Cocanada, and used to be the only place between Calcutta and Trincomalee where large vessels were docked (cf. Bowrey, 121*n*).

[2] This statement may well be doubted. The four French ships, in their poor condition, would have been a weak addition to the English fleet, and the Dutch had 14 men-of-war, as well as 'flyboats and hookers' (Van Quaelbergen's report, *loc. cit.*; 71 *Mar. Rec.*, cited in Khan's *Sources, &c.*, 245); and (as Basse confessed after the fight) they had 'farr better and bigger shipps, and more menn and gunnes' than the English had (*Mar. Rec.*, 15 Misc., 35, 36).

[3] Rijkloff's camp was probably at Vallur, which was only ten miles from Madras: cf. p. 657 *ante*, and p. 666 *post*.

following night, if the Governor joined in this splendid undertaking against a man whose capture would deliver them from all their foes. The English Governor, having read the letter in my presence, laughed with disdain and contempt, and (addressing me) said, 'What, Sir, have I not told you often enough, nor written fully enough to your Viceroy, that I was a man who recognised no business or interests but those of our Company! That body gives me no orders other than those for the lading of its ships, the receipt of its merchandise, and the carrying on of its commerce, at which I work, as you see. So all I can do is to fortify the place and try to defend it as a brave man, if I am attacked by enemies.' Such was the reply of this English Governor.

At noon Viranna sent to find me to give me some important news. This induced me to go to him at once, and I was taken to a private room in his house. He there showed me a letter he had just received from a rich merchant at Pulicat, giving him all the plans and measures proposed by the Dutch for the achievement of their enterprise against St. Thomé, namely that they did not intend to reduce the place by force of arms, knowing this would be a mere loss of time and honour, as they and the Moors had already learnt, but meant to use other methods, which often subdued towns better than the strongest artillery in the world. The letter also said that General Rijkloff was taking with him large sums of money and some thirty French deserters in his service. He hoped by this means to enter St. Thomé in triumph, without losing a single man or wasting even a cannon-shot. He was going to camp in front of the town, where the sight of these two sinister instruments would have more effect on the besieged than the largest pieces of artillery and all the forces of the kingdom of Golconda. These treacherous and perfidious French deserters had assured him in a document, which they had all signed, that they would get the rest of the garrison to desert, on sight of the money; and they also boasted that eighty French and native Christians in the town were already working secretly at this dangerous mine, which was more to be feared than any other war-machine. This worthy and honest Hindu merchant, the best friend we French had in the country, gave me the further news that the four Dutch ships which had come from Batavia to Sadras [p. 656] had there disembarked about 800 men, of whom hardly one hundred were white; the rest were miserable blacks, whom they had collected by

force. These were to march by land to join General Rijkloff before St. Thomé as soon as possible.[1]

I wrote all these things that evening to our Viceroy, who was a prudent man with large experience of such untoward happenings. He made convincing harangues to the whole garrison on the parade ground, in which he employed the same words as the conqueror of the universe, Alexander, to the Macedonians. The latter were cast down by misery, fatigue, great toils, and the hardship of terrible roads, which they felt they could no longer endure, so they all assembled, and showing their bodies, all lacerated with wounds that were still bleeding, they implored their great general to take them back to their country and to consider that of all the thousands of men who had been brought by him from Macedonia, there remained only these poor soldiers, who humbly asked leave to end their lives in their beloved land; also that they were in an out-of-the-way country and had not yet enjoyed any pleasure or rewards for the many victories they had gained for the renown of Macedonia, which itself would soon perish with this miserable remnant, if they were obliged to make new wars or undertake fresh campaigns. 'My dear brothers,' said this indomitable leader with tears in his eyes, 'it is true that it is to you I owe my glory, and I assure you that the wounds you show me are so many javelins piercing my own body; but, if you are the only ones left with me to reap the glory and rewards of our past toil and fatigue, you must not be dismayed or lose courage at a time when you ought to show more constancy and will-power to complete our glorious plans, and not dissipate in one moment all the renown we have acquired with so much trouble and loss of the blood of our poor brothers in arms. But I see you weeping, my dear companions! Is it because I ask for a little more help, and wish you to share my glory? No! No! I do not want you to serve me against your wills. Go, my dear brothers; go to Macedonia and tell how you have basely deserted your king, the successor of the great Philip, leaving him in the midst of his enemies in an unknown country; go and publish that the great Alexander is conquering the world with foreign soldiers; spread abroad that your invincible king has been obliged to confide the care of his person

[1] Martin (I, 517) mentions news being received at S. Thomé on 15 September that 500 Dutchmen had been landed at Sadras and were to join in the siege of the former place.

to Persians, Arabs, and Indians, seeing himself basely deserted by those of his own nation.' These last words were so efficacious in touching the hearts of these poor Macedonians that they regained valour and a new courage. They all threw themselves on their faces before their great prince and implored his pardon for their cowardice in having thought of abandoning him. They promised and swore that they would follow him wherever he led them, and would consider themselves happy to shed their last drop of blood for the glory and preservation of the Macedonian name.[1]

It was thus that our great Viceroy, like another Alexander, spoke to his French at St. Thomé. He too saw them covered with wounds without having received any rewards, and they were almost all exhausted with past toil and fatigue. He impressed on them the wrong they did themselves by showing impatience in a country where, if they deserted, they could have no resources except among their enemies, and would therefore be compelled to pass the rest of their lives in perpetual slavery and stained with the lowest depth of infamy. 'For,' he said to them, 'should you ever return to France after perchance escaping from the hands of the Dutch and the Moors, you would have the glory of publishing that you had been in India and the Far East, and gained some splendid victories in over eighteen months' war; that you had destroyed the most powerful Eastern army; that you had accomplished prodigies of valour in a hundred fights; and after all this

[1] Carré probably had in mind Alexander's speech said by Plutarch (*Lives*, tr. Everyman's Library, II, 504) to have been made in Hyrcania below the Caspian sea. According to this 'apprehending the Macedonians would be weary of pursuing the war', he told them that, 'if they should think of returning when they had only alarmed Asia, and not conquered it, their enemies would set upon them as upon so many women'; but that 'he would keep none of them with him against their will, [and] they might go if they pleased; he should merely enter his protest that, when on his way to make the Macedonians the masters of the world, he was left alone with a few friends and volunteers.' Thereupon 'they all cried out, they would go along with him whithersoever it was his pleasure to lead them'. Arrian (*Anabasis*, tr. McCrindle, Bk. IV, chap. XXV–XXVIII, pp. 122–8) also gives a similar speech by Alexander, when his army refused to cross the R. Beas in India, but this time without success. A third speech attributed to him by Arrian (*Anabasis*, tr. E. J. Chinnock, Bk. VII, chap. VIII–XI, pp. 355–62), when he was at a city, called Opis, on the R. Tigris, contains (p. 360) much the same phraseology, urging the Macedonians to return and report at home that they had deserted him; but in this case the discontent of the Macedonians did not arise from war-weariness, but from a suspicion that he despised them (p. 355).

you would have to confess that you had basely abandoned your Viceroy, and left him alone in this desolate country with a handful of Hindu soldiers and black Christians, so that you will be overwhelmed with glory and rewards, befitting your infamous cowardice.' These speeches convinced our brave soldiers by giving them hope that, in remaining with him to achieve complete victory over our enemies, they were on the verge of being rewarded for all their past toil and trouble.

Saturday, 16 *September.* I was told in great detail of the naval battle on 4 [really 1] September, of twenty-one Dutch against ten English ships between Diou [Divi] Point and Petapoly [Petapoli], about twenty leagues south of Masulipatam.[1] The Dutch and the English each had their spies at Pulicat and Masulipatam to report on the designs of both parties. The English at Masulipatam, being advised that the Dutch fleet was at Pulicat and was preparing to sally forth against them, were obliged to leave half of their merchandise in their factory, not having time to ship it, and their fleet left in great haste and disorder on the last day of August [really 29 August] to avoid being surprised at anchor by the Dutch. The latter in their turn received news at Pulicat that the English ships were about to leave Masulipatam, so they also left all the business on which they were engaged and set sail, hugging the coast until 4 [really 1] September, when the two fleets sighted one another. The Dutch, who had the inshore berth and were to windward of the English, ranged themselves in battle order, continuing their northward course. Their fourteen large ships of war were formed into a crescent, with their seven other ships, laden with merchandise and munitions, a little astern. In this order they slowly approached the English, who were on the opposite tack heading south, but kept boldly on to meet the enemy. Unluckily, however, for the English, their fleet was so spread out that three of their ships were too far astern and could not join their consorts soon enough;[2] the seven other ships thus found themselves opposite to and within pistol-shot of fourteen Dutch men-of-war. Thus they

[1] I.e. Nizampatam; the English called it Petapoli (Peddapalli) from a neighbouring village of that name. It is under 20 miles from Masulipatam, as the crow flies; but Streynsham Master's journey between the two places covered 45 miles (*S.M.*, II, 138).

[2] The three ships referred to seem to be the *Caesar*, the *Unity*, and the *Massingberd*; but the two latter took some part in the engagement.

remained [hove to and] facing one another for an hour, each fleet waiting for the other to fire the first shot.[1] The English, on leaving Masulipatam, had held a council of war about this encounter. which they expected after the definite news they had received. It was arranged that, on sighting the enemy, their commodore, who carried the red flag with the white cross at the main-mast, should strike it as the signal to begin the fight, and that at the same time their vice-admiral, whose ship was the strongest in their fleet, should open fire.[2] The English waited a long time in vain for the three missing ships, hoping they would overhaul them, but they did not hurry themselves, as they had no wish to take part in this engagement. Finding himself so near the enemy the English commodore furled his courses, which was the preparatory signal and was answered by the other six ships; and as soon as the flag was struck, the vice-admiral, who was within range of three Dutch ships, opened fire with all his guns about seven o'clock in the morning.[3]

Thereupon the Dutch, who had also had time to prepare, fiercely returned the English fire. The carnage was the greatest ever yet heard of in the East, as these vessels were all mixed up with one another, there being very little wind. The English vice-admiral fought four Dutch vessels alone for four hours, and made

[1] According to Basse (O.C. 3834), the English fleet sighted the Dutch about 6 a.m.; but his ships were so scattered that he did not get them into line till about 10 a.m., and a half-hour later the engagement started by the Dutch leading ships opening fire on the ships in the van of the English fleet. The Dutch account (*Mariner's Mirror,* October 1930, p. 368), however, shows there was considerable delay (which may well have extended to an hour) between the signal for attack and the commencement of the action. The words 'hove to', though not in the text, have been inserted, as we are advised by Sir Geoffrey Callender that nautically this must have been the case, and it is supported by the Dutch statement (ibid.) that the English awaited them 'with small sail'.

[2] On 19 August (O.S.) Basse held a council of the commanders on board the *London* to communicate to them the news just received that the Dutch fleet had been sighted at St. Thomé (*London's* log, 71 *Mar. Rec.*); and a signal was arranged for calling the fleet into line for defensive purposes, should they meet the Dutch (O.C. 3834), but there is no record of a signal for attack, as is mentioned by Carré.

[3] See the penultimate note as to the Dutch being the first to open fire about 10 a.m. Captain Jonathan Hide agrees as to this and says (O.C. 3857) that his ship was the first fired on. Carré correctly states that his ship, the *President*, was in the van of the English fleet, as being one of its strongest ships, and no doubt she would be the first to return the Dutch fire.

them frequently sheer off by blowing up his decks with gunpowder, but was at last taken, no longer having the ninth captain, who would not have given up, if his powder and ammunition had not been ruined by water entering his ship's hold and inundating all the munitions in it.[1] The rear-admiral, whose captain had been killed early in the fight, was also boarded by three Dutch, who captured her.[2] A third ship in fighting drifted under the lee of six Dutch ships. She fought them for a long time with such vigour and terrible fire that they would never have taken her, if there had been enough men left to man the guns. The Dutch, seeing that her resistance was slackening, boarded and took her like the two others.[3]

Consequently at noon the four remaining English ships found that these three had been captured. In spite of this the four vessels fought the whole Dutch fleet for the rest of the day in a gallant manner.[4] If night had not fallen, and if the three other English ships, which had lagged behind, had done their duty and joined in the combat, as they could have done, it is certain that the two fleets would have perished together by sinking one another.

[1] Hide's account (O.C. 3857) says the *President* was attacked by four Dutch ships after Basse left with most of the fleet about 4 p.m., and gives a vivid description of the fine fight she put up. It does not, however, mention any of his decks being blown up, and only says that at the end of the fight the Dutch cut down the deck above him and threw in a hand-grenade which 'laid [me] for dead', and blew up the deck also. Fryer (I, 122–3), however, corroborates Carré, saying: 'The Vice-Admiral was seen to blow up his decks several times, distributing the Hollanders as doles to the fishes'. By 'the ninth captain' (MS. *le capittainne neufiesme*) Carré seems to mean Captain Erwin of the *Bombay Merchant*, whose hold became flooded with water (p. 650 *ante*). This ship was in the vice-admiral's squadron; and the third ship in it, the *Massingberd*, commanded by Captain Westlock, also 'edged and bore away' out of the combat (O.C. 3834), so that Hide was alone, when he was finally attacked by the four Dutch ships.

[2] The rear-admiral was the *Sampson*, whose commander, Captain Nehemiah Erning, was killed in the fight; and on her being badly disabled two Dutch ships bore down on her and one of them boarded and captured her (O.C. 3835).

[3] This ship was the *Antelope*, commanded by Captain Goldsborough, which was engaged in the fighting from 11 a.m. to near nightfall. She was so disabled that she sank the next day while being taken away by the Dutch fleet (*Mariner's Mirror*, October 1930, pp. 377–8).

[4] This statement is incorrect. Basse left in the *London* with the six other ships some time before the capture of the three ships (*E.F.*, II, Masulipatam; O.C. 3835, 3836, 3837; Fryer, I, 122).

The four English ships, which had escaped from this terrible encounter, stayed together all night, being resolved to scuttle themselves if followed by the enemy, as they expected. Next day at daybreak they saw three ships approaching them, for whom they waited with great courage. But they discovered that these were their own three ships, which had not fought;[1] and they all returned together to Madras.

An amazing thing was noticed during this fight. A young English woman, dressed as a man and sabre in hand, remained on deck amid fire, blood, and carnage, resolved to perish gloriously with her own people rather than fall into enemy hands, and fought as well as the bravest combatant in the ship.[2] As for the Dutch fleet, it was so battered that far from proposing to pursue the English, it retired hastily into the Coringa river below Masulipatam. Thence they dispatched merchantmen with their wounded to Pulicat, as well as some soldiers who were needed there for General Rijkloff's plans. The Dutch had considerable loss in their crews, who were nearly all killed or wounded; they felt this more than the shattering of their ships, owing to their shortage of men [Europeans] in this country.[3] On the other hand they were compensated, not only for these small losses but also for the expenses of their armament, by the capture of the three richest English ships. Their whole forces had concentrated on these, for before leaving Pulicat they had complete knowledge of all English affairs at Madras, where they had spies, not only in Fort St. George, but even in the English ships, to give them reports of everything.

The Dutch, on the other hand, kept their affairs so secret and hidden that it was not easy to disentangle their ruses and plans, since the sole aim of their co-operation with the Moors was their own interest. This may be seen by the news which came the same day to the English by a courier from Golconda. He brought letters advising them that the Dutch were pressing the king to let the Moors join with them for the capture and destruction of Madras, by urging that nothing could be done against St. Thomé without

[1] This statement is supported by the *London's* log for 23 August (O.S.), (71 *Mar. Rec.*, reproduced by Khan, 246), showing that all the remaining commanders met that day in the *Ann*.

[2] This incident does not seem to be recorded elsewhere.

[3] See *n*. 1 at p. 658 *ante*.

the ruin of this town, from which St. Thomé drew so much help;[1] that nevertheless the king did not seem inclined to accede to their request and proposals, saying that, if they were as powerful as they boasted, they could easily prevent any help coming from Madras to St. Thomé by both land and sea, without any necessity to destroy Madras, a place of much trade, from which he reaped large revenues; and that this reply had rather quenched the ardour which the Dutch had shown in their preparations. Their design to ruin Madras was purely political, so that they might destroy its great trade, which was very prejudicial to their own at Pulicat, a mere half day's journey away by road.

The Dutch general, on the receipt of some intelligence, left Vallur this day and advanced inland, where about three o'clock in the afternoon he met the Moor general, [Trimbak] Bussora. The latter had come there to confer with him and was received with great ceremonies, including a salute from five pieces of cannon which the Dutch general had brought with him. This salvo was heard in Madras[2] and alarmed everyone terribly; they cried that the Dutch were coming to attack the town. The English on this news stopped all their works and the lading of their ships, and rushed to arms, which they quitted some hours later, on hearing the real cause of this false alarm.

About four o'clock in the afternoon I went to see the English Governor, in order to learn some news from him. I found him very embarrassed and annoyed at a letter he had just received from our Viceroy, which was in the form of a summons, requiring him to send back the French officers whom he kept with him at a time when they were much needed for the service of their king.[3] He complained bitterly to me of this method of trying to force him to give up these gallant officers, and said that, far from wishing to harass them, he desired to help them in every way. The sole news he gave me, in addition to what I have already stated above, was that on the previous day four ships had appeared at Pulicat, where

[1] This statement is corroborated by Langhorn's letter of 12 September (O.S.) to the Brahman representative at Golconda, in which he says that 'hitherto their [the Dutch] endeavours has [*sic*] been to delude the Kings people by perswadeing them that there is no way to take St. Thoma without takeing Madrass first, pretending we assisted the French' (17 F.S.G., 2).

[2] The *Journal* (II, 109) mentions some cannon-fire being heard at St. Thomé on this day at a distance of half a league from Madras.

[3] A copy of this letter is in 26 F.S.G. (last sec.), 1, under date 16 September.

(it was said) they had made signals to show that they were the four Dutch ships from Batavia and, after having disembarked 800 men at Tevenepatan,[1] were on their way to join their fleet in the Coringa river.

Sunday, 17 *September*. The English Governor, who had promised our French officers a passage on his Company's ships to return to Europe [p. 657], now sent to inform them very civilly that he was sorry he could no longer help them in this way, as his hands were tied by the Viceroy's written summons to send them all back to St. Thomé. These gentlemen were furious at his message, which frustrated their hopes of getting to Europe by such a good opportunity. They were even more embarrassed some hours later, when a man came from St. Thomé on behalf of the commissary-general of His Majesty with a warrant, condemning them to death as deserters and men guilty of the crime of *lèse majesté*, by having connived with our enemies, and abandoned the king's service at a time when St. Thomé was surrounded by all our foes.[2] The officers, uncertain as to what to do, came to ask me to present a defence in their justification, asserting that they were not deserters, but had merely retired, as they could not suffer the injustice which they claimed had been done to M. de Champignolle. On this I wrote to the Viceroy and once more implored him to recall these gentlemen and reinstate the captain in his former position, rather than force them to carry out their final resolve never to return to the service. But the Viceroy would listen to nothing about them, unless they returned as he had ordered, without busying themselves in seeking to arrange prior terms with him.

At two o'clock in the afternoon an envoy from the Dutch camp came to the English Governor. He asked that some officers should be sent to an assigned spot for a conference with General Rijkloff on important matters. The English at once prepared palanquins, horses with embroidered harness, and a fine suite to accompany Messrs. Smic [Smith] and Ouilc [Wilks], councillors, with

[1] This place was Tevanapatam or Tegnapatam, afterwards known as Fort St. David. It is two miles to the north of Cuddalore, at the mouth of the R. Guddelam, and the Dutch had a factory there (*S.M.*, II, 115).

[2] The *Journal* (II, 109) and de la Haye's letter of 16 September (26 F.S.G., last sec., 1) record that a council was held at St. Thomé on 16 September about the officers who had deserted from the *Breton*, and the warrant was probably its result.

Thomas Clacq [Clarke], a Portuguese employed as interpreter and agent in all their affairs.[1] These three persons arrived at the place of the conference at the same time as the Dutch general. After great civilities and courtesies on both sides, the general informed the English that he had received letters from the court of Golconda which forbade him to undertake anything against Madras,[2] and that they were going to turn all their forces and projects against St. Thomé. He also let the English know that they had the same mutual interests for the entire destruction of the French, who came to the East, arms in hand, to interfere with their commerce and business. He urged them to continue their opposition to the supply of anything to them from Madras, and assured them that the French could not hold out two months longer, and would be obliged to surrender at discretion, having no food or money and but few men, many of whom the Dutch would attract to their side by offers of money and the intrigues of the deserters already in his camp. They then discussed the subject of their naval fight, which had lately occurred. As to this, the Dutch were more civil and courteous to the English than they had been to the French whom they had captured at Trincomalee, insomuch that, at the request of the English, General Rijkloff liberated several English officers and sailors, who had been taken prisoners in the fight, and they were sent back with every kindness. The conference thus ended to the entire satisfaction of both parties.[3]

[1] According to the India Office records (*E.F.*, II, Madras; 26 F.S.G., 33*b*; 17 F.S.G., 49, 50), it was John Bridger, the third in council, who was sent to meet Rijkloff on 17 September. Jacob Smith was not then a councillor, and Timothy Wilks was the most junior one. Thomas Clarke, the country-born son of a former Agent at Masulipatam, was employed as Portuguese and Dutch interpreter (Love, I, 384, 385) and probably accompanied Bridger. So also may have Wilks and Smith.

[2] This is corroborated by a letter of 13 September (O.S.) from the Brahman representative at Golconda (26 F.S.G., 8), saying that the king had ordered the Dutch to proceed against St. Thomé only, and not against Madras.

[3] The general result of the negotiations was that Rijkloff assured Langhorn that he would not use arms against the English at Madras, unless they impeded his attack on St. Thomé, while Langhorn agreed not to assist the French with provisions, etc., and to abstain from hostilities against the Dutch by sea or land. Rijkloff also announced that he had already ordered the release of the English prisoners held by the Dutch in Ceylon, and that he would treat with Langhorn for the release of the others, including those taken in the fight off Petapoli (*E.F.*, II, Madras; 26 F.S.G., 34; 17 F.S.G., 1).

Tuesday, 19 *September*. I received a letter from the Viceroy, asking me to see the officers again and admonish them to return to the service, where he assured me they would be well received. I was to represent to them once more the wrong and prejudice which they were bringing to His Majesty's affairs, seeing that our enemies were at the gates of St. Thomé; but, in spite of all my arguments, the deserters declined to return. This final resolve was founded on the hope they still had of embarking in a ship of the English fleet, whose captains had offered them passages, notwithstanding that the Governor had retracted his promise to them. They also told the officers they could embark what people they wished, as they were in great need of men for the voyage to England. So I replied to the Viceroy, giving the reasons why these gentlemen had finally resolved not to return. He at once sent me two letters, one for the English Governor and the other addressed to all the captains of the fleet. In that to the former he again pressed him to send back the officers, which greatly vexed the Governor.[1] He told me with his usual arrogance that he would do nothing and showed his dissatisfaction at the terms of the Viceroy's letter, which contained reproaches for several things they had done at Madras to the great prejudice of the affairs of his most Christian Majesty, such as the detention of our people; the protection given to Dutch spies and wretches employed by them to induce our men to desert; his having frequent conferences and interviews with our common enemies, without letting him know the subject of these discussions; and other similar things, which showed the secret understanding and jealousy of those two nations against us French. The letter to the captains of the English fleet was a summons to them not to embark any of our deserters in their ships.[2] This the naval officers did not dare refuse, in view of the possible consequences of such a delicate business, so they were obliged to advise our French officers that they were sorry to be unable to give them the desired passages.

The officers were now in a great dilemma, and I at once made

[1] A copy of this letter, dated 19 September, is at 26 F.S.G. (last sec.), 2.

[2] The *Journal* (II, 111) says that de la Haye wrote to the Governor and the captains of the English ships, to prevent these officers embarking in them, but puts this under date 20 September. This is wrong, however, as shown by the preceding note and a reference by Martin (I, 517) to de la Haye's letter being written on 19 September.

a last effort to bring them to reason. I represented the deep offence they were committing in leaving the king's service at a time when their assistance would be of great weight and utility in the second siege of St. Thomé, which was about to begin. I pointed out that they had no valid excuse now in their defence, as the Viceroy had given his word to me that they would be well received and treated according to their ranks and offices. I represented to them the perils and disgrace into which they would fall by becoming mere vagabonds in this dreadful country, and that they would have a thousand difficulties and troubles in crossing the numerous kingdoms [of India], in order to seek opportunities of reaching Europe. Finally I said so much to persuade them that I saw some of them were inclined to go back; but unfortunately they went to consult persons whom I cannot name out of respect [? the two Capuchin Fathers]. The latter, being ill-disposed to the prosperity of our affairs, dissuaded them by fanciful suggestions, such as by instilling the idea that, if they did return to St. Thomé, the Viceroy sooner or later would make them pay for their escapade.

This day there was a solemn funeral at Madras of the wife of the first councillor of the English Company, one of the most beautiful English women who had ever come to India.[1] She was nineteen years of age and died in her first confinement. All the garrison companies, both Europeans and lascarins marched in good order, with their arms reversed and with drums, flags, and trumpets, draped in black crêpe. The officers of the Company and its ships, each wearing a fine white silk scarf on their black coats, walked before the coffin, which was carried by six Company's servants, while eight lovely English girls carried the corners of the pall. They were like goddesses and so charming in their half-mourning that they excited a passion other than that of sorrow. The two Capuchin Fathers were present at this burial and walked after the English Minister,[2] who took the service and gave the whole company something to drink at the end of the ceremonies, following

[1] The first councillor was Joseph Hinmers, but on his death in 1680 he left a wife and three children at Madras (2 F.S.G., 61; M.R., 1680–1, 33). He may, of course, have remarried, if his wife died in 1673, as stated by Carré. No mention is made in the extant records of any councillor's wife dying about this time; but this does not go against Carré's statements, as such mention would be unusual.

[2] He was the Rev. Samuel Tutchin (*E.F.*, II, Madras; Rev. F. Perry, *The Church in Madras*, I, 55).

the custom on such occasions. The Portuguese and native Christians had a good deal to say about the two good priests having attended the funeral of a heretic; they did not know that it was the policy of these Fathers to act in this way also on other occasions,[1] to an extent rendering them enemies of their own nation, in order to preserve the good will and protection of the English, who suffered them to remain as subjects in their settlement.

However, in spite of all the Dutch preparations, the menaces of our enemies, and the secret doings of those who envied us, the last defeat of the Moors made a great impression all over the country at a time when the French were announced to be at the end of their resources. Our nation thus began to be feared, and this induced several princes and kings to send ambassadors to St. Thomé to gain alliance and friendship with our Viceroy. The King of the Carnatic came in person, after a three days' stay incognito in the town, to confer with our Viceroy privately. He said that the Carnatic province was the first branch [*sic*] of the Golconda kingdom, and had been taken from him by a usurper.[2] He proposed to make our Viceroy master and ruler of the whole kingdom, if he would join with him and help him in his projects. The kings of Calicut, Cochin, and other neighbouring places, also sent ambassadors to ask for French alliance and protection against the tyranny of the Dutch, who seized their countries in an amazing and despotical manner. The Viceroy could promise nothing definite; but he sent them away full of hope, which was all he could do in his need for men, money, and everything else necessary for such undertakings.

[1] Thus Thomas Chamber, the Agent at Fort St. George, in 1661 wrote that 'upon occasions of christenings, burialls, and weddings they [the Capuchin Fathers] come to our divine service and heare preaching and praying according to the manner and institution of the Church of England' (Love, I, 183).

[2] The 'king of the Carnatic' was probably the representative of the line of Vijayanagar. After the destruction of that empire at the battle of Talikota in 1565, the members of the family eventually settled at Chandragiri and ruled precariously. In 1646 the northern Carnatic was conquered by the king of Golconda, and the interview was probably to obtain the help of the French to recover this territory (which he may have described as the first 'branch', i.e. extension of that kingdom) in view of de la Haye's recent successes over Golconda forces. According to a list in the Mackenzie MSS. the 'king' was Venkatapati Rayalu (1672–92): Love, I, 72. The *Journal* (II, 120) corroborates this surmise by saying that on 14 October 1673 an envoy came from Rain [? Rayalu] Raja, inheritor of the Carnatic kingdom.

Wednesday, 20 *September*. In the morning I went to St. Thomé, where I stayed nearly all day in private conversation with the Viceroy on the existing state of affairs. It was decided that I should leave for Surat in an English ship, in order to induce the heads of our Company there to assist in the financial business of the king, and that from Surat I should go to France by land with packets from the Viceroy, and to acquaint the court of the state of our affairs in this Eastern country.[1] I returned in the evening to Madras with a polite letter from the Viceroy to the English Governor, asking for my passage to Surat in their ships. This the Governor granted very civilly, and promised to put me on board a ship in which he had an interest and whose captain was the finest in their fleet.[2] I met the latter that evening at an entertainment, to which all the English officers were invited. I made his acquaintance and we became friendly; he assured me that not only was he very pleased to give me a passage to Surat in his ship, but even one to Europe, if I wished to take the sea-route.[3]

Thursday, 21 *September*. I went in the morning to Fort St. George to take leave of the English Governor and to thank him for the courtesy and civilities I had received from him during my five months' stay in Madras, of which I promised him I would always retain an enduring memory, assuring him I would publish all over Europe the affection and generosity he had shown to his allies, the French, in the East. He well saw that my compliments contained also polite reproaches for all his unjust proceedings. On this he informed me that he was very sorry about it, but had been forced to act in this way both by the officers of his Council and the threats of the Moors.

On my return to my lodgings I found two of the Viceroy's

[1] The *Journal* (II, 110) puts the interview a day earlier, but it starts with saying that the Viceroy sent to seek Carré at Madras; this may have been done on 19 September and the subsequent interview entered on that day, as a convenient place for recording it. Its writer seems to have a spite against Carré, 'who', he says, 'dwells always at Madras under pretext of being much fatigued by his journey [to St. Thomé]'; but his Journal shows that he went there as an agent of the Viceroy, and was no mere malingerer.

[2] The ship was the *Bombay Merchant*, commanded by Captain George Erwin. One of the ship's owners was a Mr. Thomas Cooke (*Ct. Min.*, 1677–9, 202), with whom Langhorn was in private correspondence (*F.R.*, 3 Misc., 183–4), so he is not unlikely to have had an interest in her.

[3] In his letter of 22 January 1674 to Colbert, Carré says that he borrowed the fare for the passage from an English gentleman.

guards with a saddle-horse and a company of sixty lascarins which had been sent to escort me to St. Thomé. While I was going there, three Dutch envoys arrived from General Rijkloff's camp. He had deputed them to visit the Viceroy under pretext of conferring with him on some matters, but at the bottom of it all was their desire to see the state of the town. This obliged the Viceroy to receive them in a manner showing them that he was capable of resisting not only their ruses, but all their forces, as well as those of any Oriental prince. All the garrison and townspeople were formed into ranks and well armed to receive the three Dutchmen, who were not a little amazed to see that this place, after so long a siege and heavy losses by desertion in a stubborn war, had still sufficient men to defend itself against any enemy ahead of us. They were also shown 300 pieces of artillery so well placed on the bastions, round our walls, and at every street-corner, that they realised their enterprise would end in smoke and to their own disgrace, like the preceding ones. Afterwards they were conducted to the Viceroy, to whom in their preliminary compliments they intimated that this embassy had come in answer to the complaints he had sent to Pulicat a few days before regarding the bad treatment of the French prisoners in Batavia [p. 630]. After some polite conversation, these three Dutchmen, getting down to important matters, found in the Viceroy a man quite different from what they had imagined and were not a little embarrassed in the interview, seeing the manner in which they were treated. Our great Viceroy, who was a man of the world, knew right well how to make the most of himself on occasions like this, in which some grandeur and magnanimity were required. After having shown these Dutchmen a sample of the power, greatness, and nobility of our French monarch, the greatest king in the world today, he pointed out their blindness in daring to rise to such a height of pride as to take up arms and try, as they were doing by every means, to stir up all the Oriental powers against the French, from whom they had never received anything but favours, advantages, and protection. They ought further to consider that, having regard to the condition to which their country in Europe had been reduced by the splendid success of our invincible monarch, they might well be on the verge of collapse also in the East Indies, as they could get no more help from Europe. Therefore, if they would commune a little with themselves, abandon the pride

which blinded them, and seriously reflect on their own affairs, they would give up this mad enterprise against St. Thomé. It would only increase the bitterness of our great conqueror [Louis XIV] against them, when he heard of their unjust acts and the cowardly intrigues that they employed to dim the glory and nobility of the French. On the other hand, if they should join his side, they would obtain many advantages and the preservation of their goods in this country. Such was the discourse of our Viceroy, of which he told them to make a faithful report to General Rijkloff, with the assurance of our great king's protection, should they now place themselves under him, before the forces coming to us from Europe might compel them to do this in another way. After this private conversation, these envoys were treated to a splendid entertainment at which all the officers of the place were present; and, on leaving, they were saluted by eleven guns in return for the honour and civility received by the French officers sent by the Viceroy recently to Pulicat [p. 630].[1]

After this interview the Viceroy and M. Baron worked until evening to finish their dispatches for Surat and France, with *mémoires* and instructions of what I had to do on my arrival at Surat and at the French court, as well as at the General Chamber of the Company. During this time I visited the Governor and the chief officers of St. Thomé, who all showed much pleasure that I was going to France and would let the court know of their good and faithful services and of the glory they had acquired in this Eastern land for the name of our great king and the French nation.

About six o'clock in the evening, while talking privately with the Viceroy and receiving his final orders, I was warned that the English fleet was about to sail. We also knew this by the great number of salutes they fired on weighing anchor. As I could no longer tarry, I took leave of the Viceroy and he did me the honour

[1] Both the *Journal* (II, 111) and Martin (I, 517) speak of only one Dutch envoy, an officer accompanied by a trumpeter, coming to see the Viceroy, with whom he had a long conference; afterwards he was entertained at dinner, where healths were drunk to the accompaniment of gun-salutes (the *Journal*, like Carré, says there were eleven fired). They do not mention the parade and the showing the defences of the town; but Carré gives good reasons for this being done. Martin states that he could not learn the particulars of the conference, except for a rumour that the envoy called on the Viceroy to surrender the place; but from the details given by Carré, it looks as if he was present at it, or heard about it from de la Haye.

of accompanying me to the seashore, where there was a boat ready to take me to Madras roads. I found the English fleet under sail,[1] and I embarked in a ship called the *Bombay* [*Merchant*] and commanded by M. George Erouin [Erwin], who received me most courteously and gave me good accommodation in the vessel.

Here I was surprised to find one of our best soldiers, the servant of M. de Champignolle. He told me that Father Ephraim had managed to send him on board, with all the baggage and belongings of the French officers who had withdrawn to Madras.[2] Not having been able to sail in these ships because of the opposition of the Viceroy, they had decided to go to Surat by land, and had found the means to do so by the intrigues of Father Ephraim, who had procured them trusty guides to take them there, and had arranged so well with the English that this servant had got all their baggage on board for Surat.

I could not help showing to the commander my astonishment at seeing in the ship a French soldier, who was a deserter. To this the captain replied that it was the English Governor at Madras and Father Ephraim who had arranged this affair and would take the blame for it, as they had resolved at any cost to give these French officers the means to get to Surat and thence to France, notwithstanding the wrong thus done to the service of our king in the state to which St. Thomé was reduced. Had I had time to return to land to warn the Viceroy, I would certainly have had this soldier taken ashore; but we had now set sail,[3] and it was nine o'clock at night when we drew away from the coast with a light wind and shaped a course to the south.

[1] The *Journal* (II, 111) and Martin (I, 517) confirm this visit of the Abbé to St. Thomé on 21 September. Martin says he received packets for the court in France, with orders to embark immediately, the English ships being already under sail. The *Journal* states that he embarked at 8 p.m. in one of the *Breton's* boats for that purpose.

[2] This is corroborated by an admission by Langhorn in a letter to the Company (O.C. 3847) that he had allowed 'three trunks' to be sent to Europe in the ships for the three officers.

[3] The seven ships sailed from Madras on 11 September, O.S., i.e. 21 September, N.S. (O.C. 3853; 71 *Mar. Rec.*, cited by Khan, *Sources, &c.*, p. 247).

[END OF VOL. II]